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Sexual Slavery.

MORALITY or ethics is a system of conduct of the members of a social group towards each other. Conduct approved and sanctioned by the group is considered as correct and praiseworthy. *Vice versa*—behavior condemned by the public opinion is looked upon as immoral and blameworthy. The conduct of the members of a social group is regulated and controlled by the group in its collective interests. Acts injurious to the interests of the group are condemned as immoral, and *vice versa*, acts useful to the interests of the group are praised as moral.

There is and can not be such a thing as "personal morality." Personal morality is a contradiction in terms (*contradictio in adjecta*.) Morality is essentially a social term.

Human conceit dictated to many a thinker the idea that the conception of morality, of wrong and right in conduct is a distinctly human achievement. This is far from being true.

Certain species of gregarious animals living in groups undoubtedly possess the rudiments of a social organization. The conduct of each member of such a group is controlled by the group in strict accordance with its interests. Consequently we are justified in claiming that morality, in its embryonic form at least, exists in some subhuman strata of the animal Kingdom. If that be the case we may compare the morality of animals with the morality of the human race as commensurable phenomena. Some such comparisons are rather humiliating to mankind. Even carnivorous animals, so-called beasts of prey, except in rare cases, do not attack members of their own species. However men never ceased in one way or another to consume the very substance of their own species.

Chattel-slavery was only a perfected stage of cannibalism, just a wage slavery represents a perfected stage of chattel-slavery. It is the old story of the hen furnishing golden eggs

over again. It is more economical and refined to eat up other people's muscles, bones, sinews, blood and marrow incorporated in human labor, than to eat human flesh in the literal meaning of the word. Culture and civilization so far affected only more refined forms of social parasitism: A parasitism having no parallel in the animal Kingdom.

Still more humiliating is the comparison of sexual morality between men and other animals. Zoologists tell of fierce struggles between the male rivals for the favor of a female, of the destruction of the weaker by the stronger male. But there is no case on record of males using force against the opposite sex.

If it be true, that social parasitism is an essentially human institution, sexual slavery is likewise an essentially human institution. The history of human culture testifies, that the male human animal never hesitates to use force against the weaker sex. Even the most refined relations between the representatives of the opposite sexes in the most civilized countries are honey-combed with traditions of slavery and subjugation of women.

From time immemorial the male was the exploiter of the female, her lord and "employer."

The social status of women, their economical, legal and matrimonial status, is akin to that of children and idiots. Even now in our so childishly boasted Christian civilization the status of women is rather low in the family, in society, in economic relations, in civic rights.

Thousands of years of subjugation to the stronger sex (I mean physically stronger) implanted even in the mind of the female sex a lingering notion of its inferiority, and a predilection for subordination to the brute force of the male sex. We are sorry to use the expression "brute" in a vituperative sense however.

To call the human animal committing a nameless crime "brute" means to insult the so-called subhuman animal species without provocation. Of course we may claim that nameless crimes are abhorred by civilized nations as survivals of a barbaric past. But is not economic compulsion merely a refined transformation of brute physical force? Are not thousands and thousands of women driven on the thorny path of sexual slavery by extreme poverty? Animals know no "nameless crimes", and there is no "social evil" in their midst. Moreover animals are no hypocrites and no profligates. They perform the function of propagation of their kind just as they eat and drink, obedient to the law of nature at certain set periods. The human animal perverts the law of nature and throws a veil over his sexual relations, the human animal hypocritically declares the sphere of sexual relations "tabu", being loathe to call a spade a spade, the human animal excels all others in actual sexual immorality.

Indeed prostitution as a social institution is probably as old as the human kind. The first traces of prostitution on record are those left "on the sand of times," by pagan religion, as for instance in the cults of Astarte in Babylon and of Venus in Greece. The *jus primae noctis* belonged first of all to the pagan deities or rather their representatives, the priests. The *jus primae noctis* was frequently sold and the proceeds appropriated by the pagan clergy (*non olet*) for religious purposes.

"It was the wise Greek law-giver Solon, who decided to follow the example of the pagan Church by starting state-houses of ill fame for revenue's sake. Statesmen were always glad to take lessons from the priests and improve upon them if possible. In the early days of Rome prostitution was allowed to exist unobtrusively in the outskirts of the city. Since 180 B. C. all professional prostitutes were registered and licensed (*licentia stripi*) in certain quarters of the city, by the ædiles. Crowds of licensed prostitutes followed the Roman army all over the world. Prostitution was legalized under the republic, luxuriated under the Emperors. Emperor Caligula actually established an imperial brothel in his palace, and his servants collected the fees paid by the debauchees. The Roman prostitutes were chiefly slave women, captured in the unceasing wars of conquest.

In the period of the decadence of Rome, the institution of slavery was shaken, mercantilism raised its head for the first time in the history of the west. "Indigent" free women appeared who were dependent for their existence on their sexual nature; they were freed slaves. In the middle ages the prostitutes were largely women abducted by robber bands, captured in petty wars and abused by the soldiers and the neglected offsprings of these unfortunates.

In the middle ages the class of prostitutes was organized into a guild and enjoyed legal recognition in the person of a yearly elected "queen" of prostitutes. The queen was duly sworn in by the government and empowered to prosecute all "scab" prostitutes.

The *jus primae noctis* was transferred to the feudal nobility. The alleged infidelity of married women was punished by compulsory prostitution for life. Municipalities engaged in the lucrative business of running houses of ill-fame. Even some of the popes of Rome kept such houses, from which they derived a part of their princely income. (Sixtus the 4th for instance). In England prostitution was sanctioned, in 116 A. D. The rapid spread of protestanism and syphilis put an end to the so to speak institutional period of sexual slavery. The discovery of America and the general development of commerce ushered in the most typical and perfect stage of commercialism; our modern industrial or capitalistic era. More perfect methods have been applied to the trade in human flesh called prostitution. Sexual slavery

has been turned into a regular branch of international trade. Proletarian women are enticed by professional agents (so-called procurers, "cadettes") into dismal abodes of vice, standing under the official secret protection of the police, and when necessary forcibly kept there in good order to eke out a miserable existence for themselves and create "profit" for their "employers."

The professional agents are active in all parts of the globe in search of fresh sexual slaves destined to take the place of the rapidly used up old ones. The demand for additional prostitutes in some localities, where there is a prospect of even a temporary influx of people is eagerly watched by their agents and met by them promptly, as in the case of fairs or army maneuvers.

The statistical data concerning the numbers of professional prostitutes are extremely meagre and unreliable even in such European countries where the system of licensing prostitutes is adopted. The reason of it is, that most of the sexual slaves evade the law. Bartholomy for instance, estimates that the clandestine prostitutes are from 10 to 15 times as numerous as those subjected to official control. No nation of importance is at present free from the taint of the social evil; especially the great cities of the world vie with each other in the vast number of those who gain their living by selling their bodies. The prostitute is a proletarian on the lower stage, a pauper.

Very instructive are the data furnished by Rev. G. P. Merrick in his book "Work Among the Fallen" as seen in the prison cells. (Ward, Lock & Co., London, 1890.) The author investigated sixteen thousand cases of prostitution. Concerning previous occupation of the prostitutes he finds roughly stated that 838 have done nothing for a living, 228 were employed in theatres and music halls, 168 were street peddlers, 1,617 were trade girls, 266 were needle-women, 183 governesses, 105 were barmaids, 8,000 were domestic servants.

Concerning parents' care the author finds as follows: In 5,547 cases fathers were living, in 5,677 mothers were living, in 4,558 cases both parents were dead, in 2,174 cases the father was dead, in 1,366 the mother was dead, in 386 cases there were step-fathers, in 330 cases there were step-mothers. If we add together all the cases where one or both parents are dead, we will see that in less than 8,098 poor girls have had parental care.

Concerning the age of seduction he found in 14,563 cases that 11 were seduced before they were 12 years of age; 26 between 11 and 12, 62 between 12 and 13, 104 between 13 and 14, 358 between 14 and 15, 1,192 between 15 and 16, 1,425 between 16 and 17, 1,369 between 17 and 18, 1,225 between 18 and 19, 1,158 between 19 and 20, 3,096 between 20 and 25, 2,059 between 25 and 30, and the remainder between 30 and 50 years of age.

Out of 16,022 cases taken consecutively, 3,363 pleaded *poverty* and necessity, resulting from lack of employment, as their excuse, 2,808 claimed that they were led away by other girls, 3,154 women were seduced, and becoming unsettled drifted on "to the street," 1,636 were betrayed under promise of marriage, and having lost their character and being abandoned by their seducers and relatives felt that they had no other alternative but to seek a home and livelihood among the fallen. Some prostitutes supported their relatives.

The author found for instance that 38 women were prostituting themselves in order to support their fatherless children, that 46 did so to maintain aunts and grandmothers, 57 to support parents, 149 to support younger brothers and sisters, 233 mothers 21 fathers, and 102 paramours.

Rev. C. P. Merrick says (on page 29): "I have found that not one woman out of ten can pursue that terribly exhausting life without a free resort to stimulants to prompt her to it, and that the life has not resulted so much from the drink" as that the drink has been an almost absolute necessity of life. Thousands of times I have heard the remark from the poor creatures: "We could not go out if we did not drink. We must drink and that is how it is we get a taste for it." I am very much within the bound of truth, when I say that I have not met a hundred women perhaps of a hundred thousand who have said that they like their wicked and wretched mode of life. They look it and their repugnance to it can only be stifled when they are more or less under the influence of intoxicating drinks.

With reference to the large number of widows who have taken to prostitution the author states that the majority of them apparently had been so disqualified by married life for any settled and remunerative employment that when they lost their husbands they were almost resourceless and hardly knew what to do for a living."

The rate of mortality among the poor creatures is terribly high. The average number of years which they live after having taken to a "life on the street" is about three years and 6 weeks. (p51.)

Dr. Le Pileur described the early career of the typical prostitute in the following "aphorism": "Deflowered at 16, prostituted at 17, syphilitic at 18," out of 718 syphilitic prostitutes 498 or 69 per cent were infected before their 21st year, according to Furnier fils, 63 per cent, according to Julien 69 per cent.

An illustration of the kind of life sexual slaves lead in the city of New York may be cited the following data procured by Mr. Orrin B. Booth, field superintendent of the Florence Crittenden Reserve League, and published in the supplement to pamphlet on "The White Slave Traffic." The writer secured from the keeper of a certain disorderly house the original book

of accounts of that house. Some of the figures therein are so startling that they are hard to believe under ordinary conditions. It will be borne in mind that the particular house represented in this book was called a "Fifty Cent House," and the check received by the girl therefore represents generally 25 cents as her share of the proceeds.

Bearing in mind that each check represented one customer, we now refer to photograph on page III. of the account book. It will be noticed that in one week the girl Lena received 160 men, and 113 men another week. Presuming the two weeks shown are consecutive, she would have entertained a total of 273 in 2 weeks, or an average of 19 per day for 14 days, and the income from these 273 men would have been \$136.50, of which the girl was supposed to receive only one-half, \$68.25. If she actually received it or not is of course an open question. Out of this amount she had to pay her board and other expenses.

Referring now to the photograph on page 63 it will be noticed that (taking it for granted that the 3 weeks shown were consecutive), Darlie must have entertained an average of 120 a week, of 17 a day for those 3 weeks. Referring again to the photograph on page 17 here will be noticed that the girl Bojtta received in one week 185 checks, each representing one man, and on one day of this week she received 49, and the following 34 an average for 2 days, 41. A little calculation here will reveal the enormity of this horrible traffic. We will suppose that this girl was on duty for 16 hours a day, or a total for a week of 112 hours. In order to receive this number of men she necessarily must have entertained one customer every 36 minutes for a whole week. The average length of life of a girl in sin houses is five years. It is a wonder that they could live five months under such conditions? The same investigator writes of the "Cadett System" of procuring girls, practiced in the United States, and especially in large cities like New York. Cadetts are young men whose principal occupation seems to be to entrap girls into lives of sin and shame, hold them in their power and live from their earnings. Some Cadetts have five girls earning money for them by prostitution. The statement is made that one of these cadetts cleared something like \$30 per week from each one.

The mode of procedure seemed to be on this line. To become acquainted with a young girl or woman and accomplish her ruin, and then to place her in one of the numerous disorderly houses. She is credited with a certain percentage, usually one-half of the income she produced, and out of her share she is to pay for her board and clothing and what was left many times went not to her but to this fiend in human form whom she was supporting. She received beatings from this man if things did not go to his liking, and is left sometimes without sufficient clothing for comfort. Through fear or on account of debt, or for some other

reason, it seemed impossible for her to escape from the place.

Large numbers of erring girls inside and outside of disorderly houses are supporting by their earnings worthless and vile men. A manager of a Third avenue evil resort once said to the investigator who was with a party of rescue workers in the place. "People are going at this work in the wrong way. Do you see these girls in this room? Every one of them is supporting some man. What you want to do is to get a law passed, making it a felony for any man to receive the earnings of these women."

There are various other systems to procure girls, for immoral purposes. Even religion serves sometimes as a cloak. The following is a statement made by Ruth Price, then missionary of the Rescue Army, concerning a girl named R—— B——, from Troy, N. Y., aged 19, a Catholic, who was rescued on Aug. 1, 1904, from a resort on the Bowery. "When I entered the Puritan and spoke to the girls, R—— started up, saying 'Oh, I know you.' I did not recognize her but asked her where I had seen her, and she said at 201 Allen (Werners). Here is her own story: "On the fifth of last September she met two young men on the street of Troy, N. Y., one of whom she knew. She was then 18, mother dead. Had heard of New York, and longed to come here. The strange young man agreed to bring her here and get her work. They started that night arriving in the morning. He tried to ruin her coming down, but failed. Brought her to Delancey (of which we know), she was given a room and went to sleep, when she awoke she was given some pretty clothes and told what she must do, and although she wept it was of no use. She was held a prisoner here until she became diseased, and was sent to the man who became Mrs. Weiner's partner, to be taken care of, and was brought to 201 Allen, where she saw us. During this time no money or street clothing had been given her and she had been taken advantage of in every way. The more money she made the more was charged up for her house clothes. Says that none but pure girls are brought here. Since she had been working she had bought some clothes, but had loaned them and they were not returned. Now had no hat and was ashamed to go on the street, so—she said she was willing to do anything to get away. R——says about Delancey, that it is also represented outside as a training school for the stage as well as other things, and that there are girls crying here all the time who can not get away. Another girl 17 years old was enticed by a man, to the same resort, under the pretext of placing her in a beautiful place where she could be taught to be a missionary. She came, he paying her fare, she was a perfectly pure girl at the time. This was about June the 1st, 1899. Here is another case of entrapping taken from dictation: I am under 16 years of age, about November 1st, 189—, a friend of mine Ch—— K—— called at my home, and told me there was a lady she knew who wanted some one to play the

piano, and asked me if I would go. I said I would and went with her the night following to 139 West — Street. This was a Sunday night, I told her I could not go with her until Monday night at 7:30 and I went with her. As soon as I got in the house a woman (the "madam" of the house) said to some one down stairs, "Lock the door, we have a new boarder. "I at once realized what kind of a place I was in. I saw two other girls there besides the one who took me there. I said to the madam, "I want to go home," she said, "You can't go home, if you do go home you will be put away." She said my father was going to put me away for six years, said she was up to see my father and he said that he never wants to look at you again. I cried bitterly and almost constantly while in this house, the more I cried the more they laughed at me. The madam then gave me a short dress which I put on. This was about 8:30. We then went down and sat in the parlor. About 10 o'clock three or four others came in, the madam told me that when men came in I should talk to them and ask them to "go upstairs." I said, "I do not want to do that." When these men came in I spoke to one of them and asked him up-stairs and he went, I was crying at the time we went up-stairs, but the man said nothing. He paid me \$5. I gave all this to the madam. Three men the first night each gave me \$5. The madam told me I would get \$1.50 out of each \$5.00 or \$3.00 visitor. She got \$1.50 and the cabman \$1.50 out of the \$5.00. She never paid me a cent however out of the fees. "Out of \$5.00 she gets \$2.50 and the girl \$2.50. I was in this place just three months and I was a prisoner all this time, leaving the house only twice during this period, once to a theatre and once to Newark, both times with the madam.

Another way of procuring is through fraudulent advertisement in the daily papers for waitresses. Out of the 9 adds. for instance in the German Herold for November, 1899, 7 were placed by houses of ill fame run under the name of Cigar Stores, Cider Stores or Lunch Rooms. Owing to the hypocritical system of ignoring the social evil adopted in the United States the number of sexual slaves in the country can only be roughly guessed at. The Crittenden Mission puts the figures at about 300,000. The report of the committee on the social evil with special reference to conditions existing in New York City prepared under the direction of the Committee of Fifteen (C. P. Putmans Sons, New York and London 1912) states that trading in vice has had a rapid development in New York City within the last few years. In one public precinct, not more than a mile square, there were known to be in 1900 about forty houses of ill fame. In the same precinct there were some sixty well known centres of prostitution in tenement houses. The employees of these houses openly carried their wares upon the streets, and children of the neighborhood

were given pennies and candies to distribute the cards of the prostitutes. A system of watch-boys or "light-houses" was also adopted by which the news of impending danger could be carried throughout the precinct in a very few minutes. These watch-boys in time graduate into cadetts. In many of these tenement houses in which prostitutes ply their trades, as many as fifty children reside. An acquaintance by the children with adult vices is inevitable under such conditions. Almost any child on the East Side of New York will tell you what a *napke-bladj* is. The children in the tenement eagerly watch the new sight in their midst. The statistics of venereal diseases among children and the many revolting stories from the Red Light District tell how completely they learned the lesson taught them. In an argument before the cities committee at Albany, April, 1901, the chairman of the Committee of Fifteen presented certain statistics founded upon an inspection of 125 tenement houses in which prostitutes were known to reside and ply their trade. In the work of the Committee of Fifteen evidence was secured in over 300 separate disorderly apartments in tenement houses in the City of New York. It was impossible with the limited staff of men at the disposition of the Committee of Fifteen to approximate the number of prostitutes, or houses of prostitution in New York City, and data is far from being complete and trustworthy.

Miss Frances A. Keller, Fellow College Settlement Association, in her article in *Charities*, Feb. 5th, 1904, says: "A conservative estimate shows that in New York alone they (the employment offices) send some ten thousand or more into prostitution, thus depriving households of valuable help, for many go blindly and unwillingly."

If it be true that sexual slavery was always due to the subjection of some kind, religious or social or economical of the weaker sex to the sterner sex, the modern industrial conditions resulted in a tremendous development of the social evil, and its consequences are more alarming than ever. If strong and competent male workers, if the male proletarian, is being compelled to sell his only possession, his labor power on the labor market to the highest bidder as a commodity, to, virtually sell his own body for temporary use as a carrier of labor power to those who have the price, what can be said of a female proletarian whose only possession is her own body? The community will have so much of a commodity as it is willing to pay for. Demand creates supply. This is true of sexual commodities as well as the commodity called human labor, or for that matter, any other commodity.

Abnormal conditions in which the slum proletariat lives and raises children result in a large class of women trained in sexual slavery from the cradle to the grave. They grow up in wretched tenements contaminated by constant familiarity with vice in its lower forms. When half matured they fall victims of their male

associates, and invariably drop down into professional prostitution. A very large number of prostitutes begin their career of shame when mere children. They may be victims of procurers or they may drift into vice without the deliberate incitement of any person who expects to profit from their shame. The disintegration of family life by our present industrial system is a powerful factor in the social evil.

Hosts of laborers flock into industrial centres in search of work, attracted by the actual or imaginary larger opportunities of rising in social life, and by possibly a greater degree of comfort that offers. At the same time the income that a young man earns is not sufficient for supporting a family. The children and women are forced into the mill and shop, where they labor for a pittance as needle women, day workers, domestic or factory hands.

Their earnings are often so small as barely to suffice for the urgent need of the day. A season of non-employment presents them with an alternative of starvation or prostitution. According to Bloskars, for instance, "occasional prostitution" far outnumbers all others in the city of Berlin. The tedious and irksome drudgery of an industrial laborer day after day, year after year, with no prospect for a freer, larger life creates in the breast of a poor working girl a burning desire for personal happiness, temporary, at least enjoyment of life, once there is no prospect of anything permanent. Life is short, youth is still shorter, and the temptations surrounding her are so many. The circumstances of city life make it possible for them to experiment with vice without losing caste, and they drift gradually on the evil line of professional prostitutes.

It is undoubtedly true that sexual slavery is a direct consequence of pauperism. In large cities prostitution increases or decreases inversely as employment in industry (Bloskars Conference International Brussels, 1899, *enquete i*, 676). In St. Petersburg, it is common for domestics to practice prostitution when out of employment and to cease from it when work is offered. (Stuermer, *Die prostitution in Russland*.)

Some professional prostitutes after a few years of shame return to honorable employment, marry or become kept mistresses. Even among the registered prostitutes of large European cities, there are many who are each year liberated from the control of the police, on the grounds that they have ceased to prostitute themselves. Thus, in Copenhagen, from 1871 to 1896 20 per cent of the registered prostitutes were cancelled from the register, because of marriage, 13 per cent returned to their relatives, and 10 per cent were taken in charge of private persons. The "Committee of Fifteen" says in their recommendation:

"It is a sad and humiliating admission to make, at the opening of the 20th century, in one of the greatest centres of civiliza-

tion in the world, that in numerous instances, it is not passion or corrupt inclination but the force of actual physical want (poverty) that impels young women along the road of ruin." (p. 174.)

Our essay would not be complete without having pointed a species of sexual slavery extensively rampant, more repulsive to genuine moral sense, more injurious to the human race than even open prostitution.

We mean commercial marriages sanctioned by public opinion. These unions between people who do not love each other, but buy and sell the sexual commodity called husband and wife at the current price on the matrimonial market is an institution, there are no words in our vocabulary to characterize with.

The study of the problem forces upon us the conclusion that sexual slavery is but a species of specifically human social economic parasitism Commercialism in general and its modern typical development—capitalism—in particular are the actual causes of the existence of sexual slavery, in the same measure as they are the causes of pauperism. Only a social economic system founded on the principles of human brotherhood and sisterhood, on the principles of sonarity and justice, on the principles of actual freedom and equality, economic freedom and equality will do away with sexual slavery.. Only economic democracy will allow a normal development of family life and free humanity from its greatest evil, the social evil.

ISADOR LADOFF.

A Crisis For Socialism.

ONCE a Socialist, always a Socialist," does not hold good with reference to a person who has once voted the Socialist ticket. Of this we have proof in the slump in the Socialist vote in Colorado and Massachusetts this year.

In the former state the workingmen wanted to "down Peabody" on account of his avowed hatred for a certain labor organization, while in the latter state they wanted to boost Douglas on account of his pretended friendliness for certain labor organizations.

The vote shows that they rather down Peabody and boost Douglass than down Capitalism and boost themselves.

A man in these two states who voted the Socialist ticket two years ago had to decide this year whether he was a unionist or a Socialist.

In both states he thought he had an opportunity to do something for unionism. But in Colorado it was really a serious problem with many men. It was a question of immediate demands as against ultimate demands. It was a question of a crumb today as against a full meal in the future and they accepted the crumb.

Peabody had for two years carried on a war of extermination against the American Labor Union and especially against the Western Federation of Miners, which has been on a strike to enforce the eight-hour work-day and a minimum wage for men employed in mills and smelters. These men had seen their unions broken up, their homes invaded, been incarcerated in "bull-pens" and prisons without legal complaint or cause, had been worked on the streets for vagrancy, been prodded with bayonets, torn from their homes, beaten and bruised, been deported and left without food or shelter in Kansas and New Mexico, their wives and children denied the privilege of receiving food or relief even from the Red Cross Society without permission from the military commanders.

There was a chance of beating Peabody and being allowed to go home by voting for the Democratic nominee for Governor. There was no chance to defeat with the Socialists. What should they do? Put yourselves in their place and answer the question.

We Socialists know that twenty-five or thirty thousand Socialist votes in Colorado would have done more to prevent a recurrence of such outrages than the election of a Democrat, no matter how friendly he may pretend to be to labor, but the most of the voters did not know that. They did not comprehend the Socialist movement nor its philosophy. Something immediate is the wage-slave's demand. Wages at the end of the week or month is what

they are used to and they cannot get their minds to contemplate some result in the future following from an act of today.

There is a great hope, however, in the last election returns. The Socialist vote was fully as large as it ought to be for a sound movement. The political movement is liable to outstrip the industrial organizations and all Socialists realize that the industrial conditions must be ripe before we ought to win at the polls, or, in other words, the two ought to go hand in hand.

It is significant that many of the brightest labor leaders are opposed to trades-unionism and in favor of industrial unionism. There was a meeting in Chicago in January to further perfect the plan of industrial unionism, whereby every employe, no matter what his trade, becomes a member of the one union for that industry. This is the plan of the American Labor Union.

It is this form of organization which has made it possible for the Western Federation of Miners to pay out for relief for the strikers nearly \$500,000, and after the worst war that has ever been waged on any labor organization the loss in membership is so insignificant that the organization to-day is stronger than it ever was.

This plan of organization teaches class-solidarity, as the monthly contributions to the defensive fund, from railroad men, brewery workers, cooks and waiters, teamsters, carpenters and all others go to support the miners in this struggle in Colorado.

It is not strange that the leaders in these industrial unions are Socialists, as Socialists only can see the necessity for class-solidarity in the industrial as well as the political field. In the Telluride District, Colorado, the miners have won the strike. The eight-hour day and the minimum wage of three dollars has been conceded and took effect December first. This was all that was demanded and after fifteen months of the most outrageous actions on the part of the Citizen's Alliance (composed of business and professional men) the Mine Owners' Association, the civil authorities and the Governor, the strikers won.

This demand affected only 200 millmen in the district, but 1,200 miners, cooks, waiters, teamsters, trammers, engineers, etc., walked out as a unit to enforce the demand of the millmen because they were all members of the American Labor Union and its motto is, "The injury to one is the concern of all." The only men who scabbed in this district were the carpenters, who were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as this union considered that it was not their fight, although two years before that the carpenters had secured an eight-hour day through the assistance of the Miners' Union.

The result, however, now is that the carpenters have to work nine hours at the mines and ten hours at the mills for the same pay that they received for eight hours.

I see encouragement in the vote in Colorado and most of all

in the fact that it was possible to get a large portion of the workmen to vote together on a question so as to break the political alignment. When we can awaken sufficient class interest to get them to vote together we have overcome political prejudice, or ignorance, rather, and all we need is to convince them that our program is for their interest.

The actions of the Supreme Court in this state indicate that it intends to retain Peabody in office, despite the workmen's strenuous efforts to down him.

Prior to the election the Supreme Court, on the request of the Peabody supporters appointed watchers to represent the court in 99 precincts in Denver which were usually Democratic and issued a writ enjoining the election officials from violating the election laws (a new proceeding). Under this injunction 23 election officials from the precincts that went Democratic have been sent to jail and fined, and upon the testimony produced in these cases of contempt, the whole vote in the precincts has been declared null and void, without even opening the ballot boxes, in some cases.

We need not be surprised at anything that the Supreme Court of Colorado may do when it is remembered that it upheld Peabody in his violation of the constitution by imprisoning men without complaint and denying the writ of habeas corpus. Enough of the election returns have already been changed to make the legislature Republican instead of Democratic. This will insure the confirmation of Peabody's appointees for two new judges of the Supreme Court and as the legislature canvasses and declares the result of the vote on Governor the probability is that the Republican legislature will seat Peabody instead of Adams, whom the returns show to have been elected, by 11,000 majority. If the strongest Capitalist party will do this against the weaker Capitalist party, using the machinery of government, what wouldn't they do if the returns showed that the Socialists had a majority?

A. H. FLOATEN,
(*Late Candidate for Governor.*)

Modern Utopianism.

IN the books, pamphlets and speeches on Socialism, one runs across nothing more emphatically reiterated than the scientific character of the modern movement, and the constant warning to beware of confounding the agitation founded on scientific theory with that of sentimental, utopian romancers. So much is this distinction urged that one approaching the subject with a fresh, unbiased mind, naturally expects to discover some wide divergence in belief and practice between the schools. This expectation is, indeed, fulfilled in part by investigation of the respective literatures. History and economics are made the basis of a philosophy of working class action by one school, by the other the fancy is delighted and the sympathies enthralled by pictures of ideal states and eloquent denunciation of the wrongs of the poor. "Scientific Socialism," acknowledging the inexorable dominion of law in social relations, seeks to take advantage of these and to guide human effort in harmony with, not in antagonism to, the principles which the sciences of history and economics have discovered. "Utopian Socialism" has little sense of historical evolution and deems social regeneration to be the result of effective agitation, independent of the social and political conditions of the time and place. Having come to an understanding of this distinction, the investigator begins to wonder mildly wherein lies the necessity for so clamorous an appeal to avoid confounding the two schools. As soon would one confound the bee with the butterfly, the engineer with the man of letters.

But when one leaves the books and turns to the practical actions of the two schools, then the necessity of the shibboleth "scientific" becomes apparent. There is little to distinguish between them in their deeds. Recovering from the bewilderment which such an unexpected condition causes, the important fact begins to reveal itself. The "scientific" socialists are utopians at heart. They learned their science in the philosopher's closet and when they emerged to face the actual world they left it there. They have failed to apply their science and hence their actions are the same though their cries be different from those of the utopian host.

This is perhaps too sweeping a denunciation of the so-called scientific school, but those most culpable of utopianism are the loudest in their protestation of their "scientific" position and hence need a severe rebuke to penetrate their cant-protected intellects. It is in fact just these extremists who, with the self-assertion of dogmatic fanaticism have taken upon themselves the title of champions of scientific, revolutionary socialism, that I wish

to show have failed to understand the principles they profess, and are the modern utopians, distinguishable from the earlier school only by the cant-phrases they misunderstandingly repeat. They represent in the socialist movement a tendency toward hardening our principles into dogma and encrusting them with cant, a process deadly alike to the dialectic theory and to the active expansive life of the organization. Arriving at the conclusion that Socialism is inevitable as the result of the break-down of capitalism and the triumph of labor, they proclaim themselves uncompromising revolutionists and, dazzled by the glory of their ideal utopia, they scorn the daily battles of the labor unions and the "immediate demands" of the party platform as compromising and palliating measures, whose entire significance is in their delaying the "day of the revolution." I intend to show that this attitude of antagonism to "immediate demands," though, possibly uncompromising, is certainly not revolutionary and is absolutely unscientific.

Let us first review the position of the earlier utopians that we may see more clearly by the parallelisms that exist how really utopian also are these latter-day uncompromising extremists.

In Section 3, Part III of the "Communist Manifesto" we find the heading "Critical Utopian Socialism and Communism." In this section Marx and Engels describe the characteristics of utopianism.

To quote in part:

"The founders of these (utopian) systems see indeed the class antagonisms, as well as the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. . . . the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after new social laws that are to create these conditions. Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action. Historically created conditions of emancipation must yield to phantastic ones; and the gradual, spontaneous class-organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans."

It is this disregard of material or economic conditions which stamps these schemes as utopian. They "stand apart from the class struggle," says Marx, and "lose all practical value and theoretical justification." It was not so much their building ideal future states that made the utopians unscientific, but in their failure to take up the practical problems arising out of the class antagonisms of the day. Not understanding that it is the economic or material interests which move men and economic conditions which limit their actions, they regarded all practical working-class action as a result "of blind unbelief in the new gospel." They abhorred participation in the battles of the class struggle as a sacrifice of principle.

Such was the position of the utopians of the early part of the nineteenth century. We shall see that the practical attitude of the modern impossibilist is much the same. For while he asserts in theory that the class struggle is the foundation of "scientific" socialism, his adaptation of that theory leads him into an attempt which ignores the actual class struggle and seeks to build up an organization around the ideal of a revolution, cataclysmic in nature, and which will inaugurate the beautiful co-operative commonwealth. He abandons the idea of building up a political party which shall appeal to the immediate material interests of the proletariat, for a "revolutionary" organization whose power of attraction and cohesion is an ideal, differing from that of the early utopians only in the dramatic character of its proposed realization and the indefiniteness of its outlines. While the early utopians depended upon the beauty and perfection of their realized schemes, the modern utopian seeks adherents by suggesting the heroic or theatrical nature of revolutionary events.

Before proceeding further, let us examine the position of the scientific socialist.

The materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value form the basis of scientific socialism. History is conceived as a continuous logical process through cause and effect, the system of wealth production being the condition under which, and the material or economic interests of individuals and classes being the motive power by which the social superstructure is formed. That the present system of production is, and for the future must continue to be, social is shown by economic science. And as a key to economic science we have the theory of surplus value, elucidated by Marx, which shows that the increase and concentration of capital, the recurrence of industrial crises, the intensifying exploitation of labor and the consequent existence of a class struggle are alike inevitable. Scientific socialism thus presents itself not as an inventor of a future ideal state, but as an investigator of the economic relations in capitalist society. Its science is its classified knowledge of the laws operating in society at present. Its socialism is in the deduction from those laws—that the means of wealth production will inevitably be transferred to the control of the state and that the state will be more thoroughly democratized. These changes are to be accomplished by the action of a working-class party growing out of and pushed forward by those material interests of the wage-workers which are created by economic development. Scientific socialism contents itself with the barest of ideals. Realizing that the future is the result of the tendencies of the present, knowing that he cannot create conditions, problems or issues, the scientific socialist does not try to mold the future after his individual belief. He does not judge measures according to their effect on securing in the

future the beautiful dream of William Morris or the elaborate and effective machine of Edward Bellamy. He takes up each problem as it arises and settles it in the interest of the working-class. He has no fear of the future so long as he can organize the working-class to fight for control of the government and the enactment of measures in its own behalf. He knows that the pursuit of its immediate economic interests leads the proletariat deeper and deeper into antagonism with the private ownership of capital, and that, as a consequence, public ownership will present itself as an inevitable, ultimate step. Unlike the utopian, he does not fear the compromise of his ideals while following the path his scientific principles point out. He knows that economic evolution will take care of the future and its ideals. His chief concern is to fight the present day battles in the class-struggle, sure of the general character of its outcome. In short, the scientific socialist takes an active part in all the political and economic problems and movements that concern the working-class and fights continually for the building-up of a working-class party, the champion of working-class interests.

We can now apply in a more detailed way the principles of scientific socialism to the tactical question of the inclusion of immediate demands in the party platform.

What is meant by "immediate demands"?

I think I do not mistake the general opinion of the party—certainly it is the opinion of these modern utopians—that immediate demands are a group of palliative measures, designed merely to alleviate the hard conditions of capitalism, but which are, in reality, utterly petty and trivial, and are inserted in the platform chiefly as "bait for gudgeons." Once included in the platform, they are to be quietly ignored while the campaign orators, rising above such trivial questions, enjoy the easier work of rehashing the "principles of scientific socialism," denouncing capitalism and glorifying the co-operative commonwealth. With generalities on the evils of competition and confident prophecy of the doom of capitalism, they rise to the heights of eloquence and delude themselves into the belief that they are really on "the firing line" in the class war. Unfortunately, the workingman fails to perceive the practical bearing of all this "oratory" on questions of immediate and pressing importance.

The immediate demands of the Socialist party fall naturally into three categories, which, when stated, reveal their importance. First, there are demands for proposed laws for bettering the wage-workers' economic and social position, propositions which, when carried out, will strengthen the proletarians and fit them better for the struggle for and conquest of the social productive forces. Second, there are measures which, attacking the problem from another side, aid at the stimulation of economic development and the transfer of individual, highly centralized industries

into the control of the state. And third, there are measures which seek to change the constitution of the political powers into more democratic forms so that the people may defend their interests from a governing bureaucracy.

These immediate demands when so grouped display themselves as they are properly designated in our present national platform—steps in the direction of the co-operative commonwealth. They form the program of action. They are definite proposals of a practical nature, harmonizing with the development of industrial and political conditions, and join the party advocating them to present problems. They keep the party in touch with realities. They are the scientific methods of solving the problems which the class struggle daily brings up; and they form a connecting bond between present and future. The latter-day utopians, however, laugh at immediate demands as mere bourgeois reform," unworthy the consideration of revolutionists. This sect proclaims that only a complete social revolution can effect any change, whatever, for the better. All attempts to better conditions while capitalism lasts, must of necessity be abortive.

This view, of course, involves the absurdity that the social revolution is a mere matter of the change of political administration. We elect President and Congress in 1908. A special session is called by the President on March 5, 1909. Congress meets July 4 the same year, and on Thanksgiving day the ears of the Almighty are deafened with the gratitude of the citizens of the realized Social Democracy. "And Congress said 'Let there be socialism' and there was socialism"—thus will the new Genesis read. Manifestly this is absurd. What must, of necessity, be done is to take up each industry, organize it, and try different methods till the right one be hit upon and then continue its operation in that manner. And the process of acquiring as national, state or municipal property the industries of the land will extend over many years and through many administrations, each of which must be so prudently conducted that its successor will not be hostile to the generally socialist trend of the period. The socialization of industry must of necessity be done a step at a time. The difficulty with our Utopian friends is that, to use Engel's distinction, they are metaphysicians as opposed to dialecticians. They fail to see that immediate demands while under capitalist conditions are like the sappers who undermine the bastions of a great fortress. They progress slowly, often beaten back and suffering great loss, but in the end they effect a breach through which the citadel is stormed.

Let us analyze the statement that there can be no betterment under capitalism and that therefore immediate demands are useless. It also implies that if capitalism makes conditions worse as time goes on, there is no legislative relief. For if there were

legislative relief, the measure which would give it would forthwith become an immediate demand. Hence, either parliamentary activity becomes merely a means of propaganda or it is abandoned altogether. In the latter case our arch-revolutionary friends are driven into the camp of the Physical Force Anarchists, who must organize a military power to conquer capitalism and establish their ideal.

If they still regard parliamentary activity with a favorable eye, their propaganda therein must take the form of criticising the capitalistic system and elaborating the beautiful details of the ideal future society. All the questions before the legislature "under capitalism" must be regarded as either an opportunity for showing the evils of capitalism or a text to show "how it would be done" under the socialist system which the speaker or the party had adopted as the ideal future state. To attempt to propose a positive measure for the settlement of the individual question at issue would be to formulate an "immediate demand" and repudiate the doctrine that legislative enactment can do nothing. The doctrinaires find themselves in this position—all questions are put off until the "social revolution" is accomplished. It will be the solution of all. The thousand and one questions which arise in the daily class struggle have no interest for or relation to them, except that they may point with pride to the socialist system, in which such questions cannot arise. It becomes necessary, then, for our "revolutionary" friends to explain why they cannot arise, and soon they are compelled to construct an ideal system, start it in motion and show you how it works. In short, they have landed in the ideal realms of pure utopianism. To them applies Marx's description of their predecessors—"Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action. Historically created conditions must yield to phantastic ones; and the gradual spontaneous class organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans."

Some of these utopians perceive the falsity of the proposition that there is no possibility of betterment under capitalism. And in addition, they dimly discern the utterly utopian nature of their ultimate position, commanding as it does a practical withdrawal from the daily class struggle. So they admit the possibility of doing something, but deny the use of saying so. Thus the Seattle platform, much vaunted as an "ideal platform," pledges its elected nominees to act on every measure from the standpoint of benefiting the working class. But if some measures can benefit the working class, why are our Seattle friends so modest? Why do they not state what measures can benefit labor? Will they wait for their Republican or Democratic colleagues to introduce

measures for labor's betterment? Or will they confine their activities to opposing Republican and Democratic measures designed to further degrade and enslave the working class? Come, Messieurs Socialists, you wish to control Seattle. When elected, what will you do? You cannot inaugurate the social revolution. Will you therefore relapse into a do-nothing dynasty? Your ascendancy will be short lived in such a case; for the people believe that "words are good only when backed up by deeds."

But, it is said, to make a campaign on "immediate demands" is to lose our revolutionary character. Here our unhappy friends find themselves in another dilemma. On the one hand, they must assert that the interests of labor and capital are so harmonious and reconcilable that the working class can be *indefinitely* bettered under the capitalist system by step-at-a-time measures. Or, on the other hand, they must admit that these measures lead ultimately to an attack upon the capitalist system and cause its overthrow. To maintain the possibility of indefinite betterment of labor's condition is to deny the Marxian theories of the exploitation of labor, the concentration of capital, and the intensification of the class struggle. Denying these, they abandon the basis of scientific socialism and put themselves out of court in this discussion. They must, however, go even further than admit "indefinite betterment" possible, for the end of the proposition is the entire reconciliation and absolute harmony of the interests of capital and labor. Because as labor demands more and more, bettering itself indefinitely, either its demands will be continually in harmony with capitalism, or else they will reach a point where antagonisms arise and the struggle for mastery will begin again. Our revolutionary utopians are, therefore, forced to accept the position that immediate demands lead to an attack on and an overthrow of the capitalist system. In other words, immediate demands do not cause the party to lose its revolutionary character but, on the contrary, compel it to become such. As Marx writes in the "Communist Manifesto," near the end of Part II, "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state * * * and to increase the total of productive forces," etc. This will be done "by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, *outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order,* and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production."

There is one last refuge into which our unscientific utopian arch-revolutionary friends retreat. "Other parties," they exclaim, "will adopt these demands and thus steal our thunder." This means that other parties will boost working-class interests. But

what other parties will do this? Are we not constantly assured that the Republican and Democratic parties are but the two wings of the capitalist vulture, that both represent interests opposed to labor? Which, then, of these factional interests, will sacrifice itself nobly on the altar of the working class? To state that either will do so is to deny that political parties are a phaze of the class struggle and represent material class interests—a fundamental proposition of scientific socialism.

It is certainly true that palliative sops may be thrown to the working class by either party in order to secure for a while longer its own dominance. But these grants are simply retreats by the capitalists from untenable positions. They dare not hazard a general conflict with the organized army of labor on such weak ground. The effect of their retreat, however, instead of avoiding the class struggle, is simply to enable the workers to occupy a new and advanced position, from which they can with added strength renew the conflict. Every such sop, every such retreat serves only to bring the line of battle, the firing line, closer and closer to the capitalist citadel, nearer and nearer to its last ditch.

But there is another element in this last despairing cry of those who oppose immediate demands which supplies the principle that overwhelms their position completely.

Why is it that the promise of an "immediate demand," a measure in the interest of the working class, by a capitalist party should weaken a working-class party? If there is any reason it is that this promise complies with the immediate interest of the workers. And they are satisfied to pursue their immediate interests regardless in a great measure of the further, but future, interests which the working-class party represents. In the well known phrase, they hold the penny so close to the eye they cannot see the dollar that lies beyond. This is largely true, and it constitutes just the reason that immediate demands and campaigns in their behalf are necessary, if the working class is to be marshaled into a political party for the conquest of the public powers. To the pocketbooks of the workers, on those matters which affect income and expenditure for the current year, you must appeal. Rooting the party firmly in their material interests it will grow naturally and surely, satisfying their present needs and developing its ideals just as the rose-bush, drawing its sustenance from the soil, puts forth its buds and blossoms into beauty.

The fundamental mistake of the utopians is their assumption that the ultimate interest of men of living under the ideal conditions of a co-operative commonwealth has a sufficient binding or cohesive force to be used in building up a powerful political party. It certainly does attract a certain percentage of idealists and zealots and holds them, inspired and militant, for a considerable time; from others it exacts a temporary allegiance and service; from

others, mere intellectual acquiescence. But the vast body it fails utterly to move.

Not only that but the organization it succeeds in forming, removed from the realities and problems of actual every day life, inevitably tends to become sectarian and factional. On the one hand a faction claims that the capitalists have an ultimate interest in socialism. Another faction rely on the middle-class man, whose ultimate interest is sure to lead him into the land of promise. And a third faction would kick out every one whose income provides him with a clean shirt, for the great catastrophe to capitalism will only come when everyone is ground down to the lowest point and revolution is their very last resource. Hence, in the composite expression of the total body, class lines are blurred. The indistinctness only disappears when you look at the "inside politics" of the organization. There you see the lines of cleavage drawn with such rigidity as only doctrinarians and dogmatists can be responsible for.

"The first step is the organization of the working class." That class is to be organized successfully on the lines of its own immediate interests. It will adhere to and build up that party whose program answers its demand for pressing reforms. If the Socialist party aspires to be the representative of the working-class, it must come to them without ulterior designs. It cannot say, "We'll give you an eight-hour day, if you will support the co-operative commonwealth and subscribe to the theory of the materialist conception of history." In a sense it must come nude and virginal to labor. As the Christian loses his life to gain it, so must the socialist abandon his ideals to gain them. Let the party take up the pressing question of the day from the workers' standpoint, fight it out, win the workers' battle and move on to the next question. Every advance, every gain for labor is a loss for capital, a restriction on the dominance of capitalism, an assertion of the right of the workers to regulate to some extent the industries they carry on. Thus, step by step, inroads are made on individualism in industry and the ideal of social democracy rises from the foundation of achieved industrial facts. The class lines are firmly drawn, and in place of fanatical factions contending over theories, the organization, its whole attention engrossed in the conflict with the capitalist class, present a united front to the enemy. Such a party is honest. It serves. It does not intend merely to use.

The Socialist party must become a workingmen's party, flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone. It will not do to regard the working class and its immediate interests as something separate from the Socialist party and its interests and ideals. They must be one. And as the husband said to his wife, "You and I are one and I'm it," so in the union, the identification of labor and socialism, it is labor that must be it."

In short—let us have faith that the interests of labor and capital are irreconcilably opposed; that an intensifying class struggle results and that labor in its victory must, as its historic mission, abolish capitalism and substitute socialism. 'Strong in that faith, let us fare forth to battle in labor's ranks. Let us strive mightily in every battle—yea, every skirmish of the great class war, confident that in the end the last rampart of plutocratic tyranny will be breached and our mighty hosts will plant their victorious standards on every factory, shop and farm throughout the land.

CAMERON H. KING, JR.

No Work.

A song for the idle who roam at will,
And a shrug for the men who shirk,
But who shall sing of the prick and sting,
Of the bitter taunt and the cruel fling,
To the man who has no work.

The man who would delve if he had a mind,
With a plane or a saw would build,
Or would give a turn to a thought to burn
Like an opal flame in a golden urn,
If the dream of his life were filled.

Oh! who can tell of the bitter shame
To sink from man's estate,
And to humbly take for his children's sake
The coin that is flung. Oh, the hearts that break
In this world that we create!

For the plan of God was the same for all,
The right to be and do,
It is only we, who have learned to see
That the world was made for you and me,
And the rich, and a chosen few.

And we call it fate, and our brother falls
Because of the load we give,
And his sorest need, is our pressing greed;
The self that tramples him though he bleed,
The self, that will crush to live.

Oh! the saddest sight in the world to-day
Is our neighbor passing by,
With a weary pace, and a blanching face,
Who is out of work, and out of the race,
And we make it—you and I.

EMMA PLATTE SEABURY.

First National Convention of the Prussian Social Democracy.

IN DECEMBER 28 to 31, 1904, the first national convention of the Prussian Social Democracy was held in Berlin. Of the 3,010,771 socialist votes cast in the last reichstag's elections, 1,649,998 were polled in Prussia, and of the 81 socialists elected in June 1903, as many as 32 were elected in Prussia, which sends a total of 235 delegates to the reichstag. Nevertheless the Prussian Social Democracy did not call a special national convention so far, while some of the smaller states have already done so at various times. The justification for this first national convention of the Prussian socialists was the growing power of the reaction in Prussia which determined the policy of all other states in the empire. The purpose of this convention was to publicly denounce this reaction, to incite the minds by a public appeal to the people against the more and more undisguised plans and the shameless class rule of the Prussian nobility, to demand in the name of the working people a people's parliament in place of the present class parliament. The convention unanimously defined its position on all these points. It was a mass demonstration of the most impressive kind against the money parliament and against the attacks on the oppressed made by it.

The questions placed on the order of business were the following: The Prussian housing reform bill, the school reform bill, the bill for the prevention of contract breaking on the part of the farm laborers and servants, and the election laws of Prussia regarding the landtag.

The new housing reform bill of Prussia is but a reactionary attempt to save the house owners from losses to the disadvantage of the proletarian population of the city and rural districts. The housing conditions in Prussia were exposed by Comrade Heimann who had been entrusted with the task of presenting the matter to the convention. He emphasized the fact that a thorough sanitation of the housing conditions cannot be accomplished, until the land is completely taken out of the control of capitalist interests and transferred to the collectivity. The resolution which he introduced expressed this truth very forcibly. But since the accomplishment of this purpose, and the introduction of reforms under the capitalist system, depend on the growing solidarity and class-consciousness of the working people, and can be advanced only by the conquest of the political power by the proletariat, the spreading of this proletarian influence was declared to be the main function of the Socialist Party. Therefore the convention opposed the housing bill of the capitalist parties and demanded the following imme-

diate reforms: The framing of a new housing bill, defining the powers of the municipalities and communes and extending to them the power of expropriating house owners and acquiring land for public purposes; the creation of a central housing bureau to direct the work of local housing bureaus; the introduction of universal, equal, secret and direct balloting for all members of any community and the abolition of special privileges for house owners; complete local autonomy. Only when these reforms are introduced will the municipalities be able to cope with the housing problem. The administrative means to cope with it would be the conservation and extension of public property in land; the building of sanitary houses for working people; the renting of such houses at prices covering the cost of building and repairing; the taxation of the unearned increment in land values; the designing of new and up-to-date building plans; the transfer of the local means of transportation to the municipality. The resolution was adopted.

The school reform bill of the capitalist parties was a compromise between the liberals and conservatives in the Prussian landtag for the purpose of clericalising the schools and bringing them still more into the position of reactionary instruments. Comrade Arons, who was selected as the speaker on this subject, introduced a resolution protesting against this reactionary attempt and demanding an immediate reform of the public school system. The resolution declares the first conditions for such a reform to be the separation of the schools from the churches and the elimination of religious instruction from the school plan; a uniform education for all children of school age; free tuition, free school books; small classes; better training and better wages for teachers; application of modern hygiene and modern methods of pedagogy; free food and clothing for needy pupils. In the discussion following the introduction of the resolution, it was proposed to add amendments demanding co-education for boys and girls in all classes, and opposing the attempts to use the schools for the political purposes of the government and of the ruling classes. These amendments were added and the resolution adopted. Other resolutions demanding the regulation of the school system by uniform methods throughout the empire and protesting against the brutal Germanizing policy of the government in schools attended by children of other than German parentage were also adopted.

The bill referring to contracts with farm laborers and servants contemplated a revival of the feudal conditions of serfdom for employees of the landed nobility. The convention protested against this reaction and adopted a resolution demanding the legal equality of farm laborers and farm servants with industrial laborers; abolition of all class legislation against farm employees; laws protecting the farm employees and securing them in their privilege to hold meetings and organize. The members of the

party were urged to agitate among the farming proletariat and to organize them. An amendment demanding the institution of arbitration boards, the members of which are to be elected by universal suffrage, was added to the resolution which was then adopted.

The attitude of the Prussian socialists toward the present election system in use for landtag's elections, and toward this parliament itself, is clearly reflected in the following resolution presented by Comrade Ledebour:

"The Prussian landtag has no claim to be recognized as a representation of the Prussian people, because the artificial structure of the house of lords, with its majority of hereditary and appointed lawmakers, serves only as a bulwark of class rule for the nobility and bureaucracy. The three-class-election system privileges one-seventh of the population composed of wealthy citizens by giving them two-thirds of the votes and thus insuring their predominance in the house of representatives. The mass of the people is practically disfranchised and the landtag disgraced by being turned into a representation of the money power.

The result of this composition of the landtag is a more and more reactionary legislation contrary to the interests of the working people.

The house of lords and the house of representatives are historically illegal because they owe their existence to usurpation and by their composition they are the embodiment of shameless class rule and perfect enmity toward the working class.

The convention protests against the outrage and lawlessness perpetrated against the mass of the people by this class parliament.

The first and most necessary step for the defeat of the reaction in Prussia is the transformation of the Prussian parliament into a true people's parliament. The convention demands the abolition of the house of lords and the introduction of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret balloting for the house of representatives, for all male and female persons above the age of 20, on the basis of proportional representation."

The discussion of this resolution led to an animated debate on the question of tactics, owing to an amendment introduced by Bernstein which called for mass demonstrations in the great cities for the purpose of agitating for universal suffrage. The amendment was rejected and the resolution adopted.

The convention also defined the position of the party in the questions of meat inspection, the violation of the interests of employees of state industries, and the disfranchisement of the female population. Resolutions of sympathy were sent to the striking minors in the Ruhr districts. The next national convention of the Prussian Social Democracy will be held in 1906.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Manifesto of Industrial Unionists.

DURING the first week of January a meeting of industrial unionists was held in Chicago, and their plans are worthy of careful study and investigation by all who are interested in the organized labor movement. The manifesto which was issued by this meeting is as follows:

Social relations and groupings but reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines ever replacing less productive ones wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the evergrowing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which in this world of monopolized opportunities means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by craft divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating condition his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assorts them according to the machine to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill, or interests among laborers, are imposed by the employers that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist

tyranny may be weakened by artificial, fratricidal distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers, the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the judicial injunctions and military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions.

The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effect of trade divisions, the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers, subject to the same masters, the long struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief within wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the products of which they alone will enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent upon the industrial battlefield.

Union men scab upon union men, hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered, helpless and disintegrated, into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft. Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life

of another body of laborers. Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action. Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles, which serve only the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working class autonomy generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in the collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

Workingmen bringing union cards from foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

All members should hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

The general administration should issue a publication, representing the entire organization and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry, at regular intervals.

A Central Defense Fund, to which all members contribute equally should be established and maintained.

CALL FOR CONVENTION.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegate represents. No delegate, how-

ever, shall be given representation on the basis of an organization, unless he has credentials, bearing the seal of his union, local, national or international, and the signatures of the officers thereof, authorizing him to install his union as a working part of the proposed economic organization in the industrial department to which it logically belongs in the general plan. Lacking this authority, the delegate shall represent himself as an individual. THOS. J. DE YOUNG, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Houston, Texas.

THOS. J. HAGGERTY, of the American Labor Union, Chicago.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN, of the United Metal Workers, Chicago.

FRED. D. HENION, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Minneapolis.

M. E. WHITE, of the American Labor Union, Denver.

ERNEST UNTERMANN, Chicago.

W. J. BRADLEY, Minneapolis.

W. J. PINKERTON, of the Switchmen's Union of North America, Argentine, Kan.

FRANK KRAFFT, International Union of United Brewery Workmen, Chicago.

A. J. SWING, of the American Federation of Musicians, Cincinnati.

A. M. SIMONS, Editor INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, Chicago.

J. E. FITZGERALD, Fort Worth, Texas.

WADE SHURTLEFF, of the International Musical Union, Cleveland, Ohio.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, of the Western Federation of Miners, Denver.

MOTHEE JONES, Chicago.

FRANK M. McCABE, Chicago.

JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor Miners' Magazine, Denver.

CHARLES, H. MOYER, Western Federation of Miners, Denver.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN, International Union of Brewery Workmen, Cincinnati.

W. L. HALL, Chicago.

JOS. SCHMITT, International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.

CLARENCE SMITH, Chicago.

JOHN GUILD, International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.

DANIEL McDONALD, Chicago.

FRANK BOHN, New York City.

GEO. ESTES, Chicago.

PERMANENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, Chairman.

W. E. TRAUTMANN, Secretary, Odd Fellows' Temple, Cincinnati.

CLARENCE SMITH.

W. L. HALL.

A. M. SIMONS.

Progress of Socialism in Norway.

THESE are days full of cheer and comfort for the Socialists of all lands. From every quarter of the civilized world come reports of progress and victory for our movement—"glad tidings of great joy" for the class-conscious workers of every country and clime. The unique strength of German Social-Democracy, shown by the Reichstag elections of 1903 is too well known to friend and foe to need reciting here. We of Yankeeland are still rejoicing over the splendid showing made last November, while the plutocrats and their minions are wildly guessing at the cause and outcome of the surprising growth of this new force in American economic and political life. Almost simultaneously with our election returns comes word of battle waged and victory won by our comrades in far-off Italy. Amid the storm-clouds of the war in the Far East we catch a glimpse of the activity of our brothers and sisters in the domains of Czar and Mikado and behold Plechanoff of Russia, and Katayama of Japan, clasping hands at an International Socialist Congress and reminding each other of the time when awakened and emancipated Labor and world-wide comrade Love shall usher in the era of "peace on earth and good will toward men" when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." As the year 1904—a year memorable in the annals of the Social Revolution—was drawing to its close, comes news of another battle of ballots—this time from the rock-bound homeland of the Norsemen.

In December of last year took place the municipal elections in all the cities of Norway. The results of these elections are no less important and noteworthy for the student of events than are the political contests in larger and more populous countries. The political and industrial development of Norway is of especial interest to the large part of the people of the American northwest whose ancestral homes are in the great little land of the Midnight Sun. As a descendant of the sturdy Viking race of the North, though an American by nativity, the writer of the present article is among the many who follow with live interest the trend of things in the fatherland. As a Socialist, we are especially interested in the awakening of the Norwegian proletariat and the rise of the Socialist movement in Norway. We are also bound by personal ties to the Socialist party of that country, as our first knowledge of Socialism was received from a kinsman now in the movement in the Norwegian capital. A brief outline of

the political situation in that northern country may be of interest to our American and International comrades.

Socialism as a distinct political movement is of comparatively recent origin in Norway. The reason for this fact may be found partly in the national character of the people. The typical Norwegian is by nature possessed of a very independent and self-sufficient spirit, which, through false education, leads him to shun united and organized effort to promote the common welfare. The Norwegians are also, as a rule, conservative in their views, slow to give up time-honored traditions and habits of thought and life. This is shown by the almost utter failure of new religious movements in Norway. After long and strenuous propaganda by other sects, the non-Lutheran population of Norway at the present time is almost a negligible quantity. Another and chief reason for the youth of the Socialist party in that country is the fact that only in recent years has modern industrialism become dominant in Norwegian life. The frenzied haste, the fierce competition and brutal oppression of capitalist society have served to rouse the working people of Norway from their lethargy and shown them that there is a point where patience with the wrong and reverence for the old cease to be virtues. The development of capitalist production and its accompanying exploitation have also demonstrated to the "independent" Norwegian workman that only by union with his fellow-workers in his own and other lands and the overthrow of the common oppression of the capitalist system can true personal freedom be attained and his much-vaunted individuality become real. So the Berserker spirit of the Viking forefathers is asserting itself and the workers of Norway are at last uniting with their brothers in other Mammon-cursed lands in the common struggle for universal emancipation from class-rule and wage-slavery.

During the last quarter of a century the two leading parties in Norway have been the Conservative and the Liberal, or, as they are commonly called, the Right and the Left. The former is the party of the official and proprietary classes and their dupes among the common herd. The latter has been the political representative of the radical bourgeoisie, and has styled itself the party of the people. By its comparatively liberal principles and with its able and popular leaders, the Left was heartily supported by the farmers and wage-workers, thus gaining control of the government and maintaining its sway for many years. But it failed to materialize the golden promises of freedom and plenty with which it lured the masses into its fold. True, it must be given credit for many valuable democratic reforms, such as universal manhood suffrage and lately, equal suffrage for both sexes. In

many respects Norway is the most democratic monarchy, (if we may use the phrase), in the world, and this result is largely due to the Liberals, who, however, introduced these reformatory measures more as means of getting and holding the votes of the working class than as outbursts of the professed love of the Liberal politicians for the people. But the Left absolutely failed to solve the ever pressing bread-and-butter question. It expended vast amounts for military and naval budgets and other unproductive purposes, and sorely neglected the industries and resources of the land. In this way it contracted an enormous national debt, while it allowed hordes of foreign capitalists to exploit some of the nation's chief sources of wealth. The struggle for existence among the distressed working classes, especially in large cities, became more and more intense and an unprecedented number of the best brain and brawn of the working people emigrated to America. Many have not gained much by the change, but that is another story. This misrule by the "radicals" and "friends of labor" caused widespread discontent in country and city. The time was ripe for revolutionary political action along the lines of the International Socialist movement and the rise and progress of Socialism in old Norway has been pleasantly surprising for its friends and advocates and startlingly ominous for the master class.

A re-alignment of political forces has taken place during the first years of the new century. The Left has been subject to a general dissolution. The reactionary element has joined the Right. Many of the most able and popular leaders of the Left have deserted it, some to support the policies of their traditional antagonist on a revised platform. Among these is Björnstjerne Björnson, world-famous as novelist, poet and dramatist. It is tolerably certain, however, that Björnson's progressive and liberty-loving spirit will not find lasting satisfaction in the bureaucratic circles of Conservatism. The great litterateur and statesman has on several occasions expressed himself as very favorable toward Socialism. Without waiting for the behests of their erstwhile political leaders, the wage-workers in the cities and the small farmers in the rural districts are fast rallying about the standard of Socialism. Owing to the universal franchise spoken of above, the political expression of the Socialist movement in Norway is not hampered by the electoral restrictions prevalent on the European continent. Norwegian society also has other characteristics which are noteworthy. For instance, Norway is the only country in the world with a monarchical form of government, that has no titled aristocracy, all titles of nobility having been abolished by legislative enactment. The parents of the writer, before their emigration, were ten-

ants of the last of the Norwegian barons, now deceased. The system of public education is one of the best in the world. Illiteracy is practically unknown. An American writer who visited Norway, I think it was Wm. E. Curtis, said that if a Norwegian could not read and write, it was because he had forgotten what he had learned. For sobriety, too, the Norwegians hold first place among nations, the per capita consumption of intoxicants in Norway being less than that in any other country in Christendom. The enthusiastic acceptance of the principles of International Socialism by a people of such character and intelligence is a social phenomenon of marked interest and significance.

The first Socialist organization in Norway was formed in Kristianna about fifteen years ago. It consisted of some thirty members, Mrs. Emil Lawritz Mengshoel, wife of the editor of *Gaa Paa*, the Minneapolis Socialist weekly, being the only woman member. O the party's organ, *Social Demokraten*, Mr. Mengshoel tells us that it "was at first only a 'slip' published once a week and was edited by Carl Jeppesen and printed by Christian Knutson, both of whom did the work for years without wages, as the little weekly brought no more money than scarcely enough for the paper and ink. At the present day (1903) *Social Demokraten* is a daily with more than ten thousand subscribers. Its present editor is the genial writer, Olav Kringen, who formerly spent several years as journalist in America." Among the other Socialist papers is "*Arbeidet*" (Labor), a daily published at Bergen, the second largest city.

In 1897, the Socialists cast only 657 votes in Kristiania. In 1900, they had increased their voting strength to 4,035, a little less than half that of the Left. A large percentage of party members are women, many of whom are among the most ardent and efficient workers. Among the first group of Socialists to be elected to the Kristiania city council was Mrs. Margarethe Ström, whose husband was elected councilman at the same time on a rival temperance ticket. That's a "new woman" for you. In the parliamentary elections of 1903 the Socialists broke into the Storting, electing five representatives, of whom the most prominent are Rev. Dr. Alfred Ericksen and Prof. Jörg Berge, both from the northern part of the country. The former is the only Lutheran clergyman, the latter the only Roman Catholic, in the Norwegian parliament. Our cause had now won a hearing both locally and nationally, and agitation and organization was pushed with vigor and zeal.

The municipal elections last December show a most remarkable growth of the Socialist party, with a corresponding decrease in the number and importance of the Liberals. The

leading daily paper of Kristiania, *Verdens Gang* (Conservative) says editorially, "The results of the municipal elections indicate that hereafter the struggle, both municipal and political, will be between the allied party (the Right and its ex-Liberal supporters) and the Socialists. (Remember Mark Hanna's prophecy, ye Americans!) The Left has been assigned the temporary role of a small middle party, which, according to circumstances, can strengthen one or the other of the great parties. (Thus soon "Democracy.") This is a rapid, and for many, a surprising change from the time, only a few years ago, when the Left was sans comparaison, the most powerful of all Norwegian parties, even in the cities, while Socialism had just made its existence known by a few unimportant figures.

Continuing, *Verdens Gang* says: "Most characteristic is the situation in the capital and in Trondhjem. In Kristiania, the Right, with the support of the Liberals who make a determined stand against the demands of Socialism, increased its vote of 15,017 in 1901, to 18,943, a gain which corresponds in percentage to the general increase in the number of votes cast. The growth of the Socialist vote, on the other hand, bears no such relation to the increase in the total vote and is considered danger-threatening by those who understand its meaning. The number of Socialist votes has increased in three years from 4,485 to 9,513, that is, it has more than doubled. The Socialists will constitute the second largest group in the Kristiania city council, with more than twice as many representatives as the Left." So far "*Verdens Gang*." In the new council the Right will have 46 representatives, a loss of 2, the Socialists 23, a gain of 9, and the Left, 11, a loss of 5. In Trondhjem, the famous cathedral city of the Scandinavian north, the result is even more remarkable. Here also the Right is the strongest party, but without absolute majority, and its 2,543 votes is closely followed by the Socialists' 2,008. The Left, as in the capital, has only half as many votes as the Socialists, with less than one-third as many representatives. In the council will be 28 Conservatives, 22 Socialists and 7 Liberals. Three years ago the Socialists of Trondhjem controlled only 350 votes. In Bergen, the leading city on the western coast, the Right, as in the two cities mentioned above, is the strongest party, with a vote of 4,936. The Left has here succeeded in maintaining second place by a narrow margin, as it cast 3,085 votes to the Socialists' 2,740. But the bourgeois press admits that it is the last time the Socialists reach only third place in Bergen, as well as in other leading cities. The municipal council of Drammen, an important indus-

(Parentheses our own.)

trial center, will consist of 36 Conservatives, 13 Socialists, 7 Liberals, and 4 independent temperance men. Six of the representatives are women. In Stavanger, a large sea coast town, the Right and Moderates get 28 seats, the Left 16 seats and the Socialists 14 seats, in the council. In Sarpsborg 11 candidates on a socialistic Labor ticket were elected, the Right and the Left electing 10 each. Socialist representatives were elected in other places as follows: Fredrikstad, 4; Kristiansand, 7; Haugesund, 7; Aalesund, 6; Narvik, 2. Complete returns are not at hand, but the Socialists are known to have made important gains and elected their candidates in several other cities in various parts of the country. "*Verdens Gang*," quoted above, remarks: "The elections show, in short, that thousands are flocking from the Left to Socialism."

Verily, a working class revival is spreading over the fjords and fjelds of "old Norway, the ancient and glorious." The proletariat of the Northland is marshalling its forces for the great world-revolt against the present system of master and man. The workers of twentieth century Norway take up the slogan of their fathers in the heroic days of their country's independence struggles during the first score years of the last century, "United and loyal till Dovre (the Norse Olympus) falls!" From workshop and field and cottage we hear, with voice of thunder, the cry of the Communist Manifesto, "Proletarians of all countries, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain!"

ALBERT N. GILBERTSON.

Willmar, Minn.

Socialism—A Defense of Private Property.

WE do intend to take from the present proprietors their control of our organized industries, the trusts. We do deny that they have accumulated the property, land and machinery, necessary for these industries by their honest labor given for them. We maintain that the right to private property is the right of the worker to the whole value of the results of his own labor. There is no right to private ownership of land better than the consent of the community. It has been said of us that we would confiscate the wealth of the rich to divide it equally among the poor. This misrepresentation is not altogether intentional, though there is not a political organization which has declared in its platform or elsewhere officially its purpose to divide wealth equally or to get the same pay for all kinds of labor. But there are a good many socialists who do believe that equal pay for all kinds of service is an important object to be gained.

The Socialist Party seeks power to act now. We are therefore asked how we would determine the pay for different kinds of labor under socialist management of industry now. These socialists who contend for equality of pay to all kinds of labor answer for that advanced state of society which we all anticipate in which our productive power will be very much equalized by the use of machines and each share of the product will be so bountiful that how much we can have will be a matter of indifference to us. The desire for its products is the poorest incentive to labor, they say. Our best work is done because we love to do it. As William Morris said, "Art is the expression of a man's joy in his work." It is true that many different kinds of labor are equally necessary. The commonest unskilled labor is the most necessary. Why, then is it most poorly paid? It is impossible to say whether one kind of labor is more useful than another for the same reason that we cannot say whether the product of one is more useful than that of another, wheat than iron for instance. They cannot be compared in this way.

On the other hand all workers of one trade are not equally productive. Some tailors, for instance, turn out more work in a given time. Moreover, various kinds of labor have different degrees of value to the community. Since all labor is not equally productive, if each worker receives the same pay, that is the same share of the product, the less productive must be paid by some unpaid labor of the more productive. This same thing is the wrong that is inherent in our present business system. That some shall do a greater or better part of the labor in order to get only an equal remuneration is a glaring inequality and injustice. The force of this contention is only admitted in proposing there-

fore to vary the length of the day's labor in different employments in order to make the pay equal. This would prohibit the most valuable workers from doing more than the shortest day's labor in order to make the day's labor of the most unskilled equal in value to that of the most needed workers. Observe that this would be absolutely against the interest of the community. Nor is it to the benefit of the incompetent and less energetic worker that we should fix boundaries in the way of industry to prevent the more indusrious from producing and therefore possessing more than the indolent.

But it is objected that better pay, that is better homes, better clothes and food, better education and social advantages, would result in class distinctions. Equality of pay would not equalize these in different parts of our country, nor even in the same locality under the varying conditions of employment. Suppose a locality that offers special advantages for one kind of production with great counterbalancing disadvantages. Gold, for example, will be mined in Alaska while it is an economical application of labor to do it there. The same pay would give vastly different conditions to the miner in Alaska from what it would pay for here. Men will not be reconciled to harder conditions of life by equal pay and shorter hours. Yet there will always be sections that will offer great advantages for particular industries with such disadvantages for the making of homes that people cannot be induced to live there in order to work shorter hours for the same pay. Public economy will compel the payment of better wages to those who accept these disadvantages and do the work, for private enterprise will surely use the advantages of such a locality if the public administration of industry does not do so.

A certain portion of labor may be greater than another portion of labor in the time it must consume it may be greater in its intensity, the effort put forth in a certain time; it may be greater in the risks of discomforts involved; it may be greater in the skill or knowledge necessary for it, which is to say that greater labor of preparation has been necessary. For each and all of these it must be better paid per hour or per day because the necessary consumption of human life for the task has been greater. Nothing else is finally possible because nothing else is right.

The skill, intensity, and actual time of a portion of labor may be estimated in ways more or less ingenious. But suppose that, having estimated and decided the pay for a certain kind of work, the necessary labor is not to be had at that price or that too many offer themselves. If the pay for a certain kind of labor is poor, that is if the same effort applied elsewhere will get a better return, there must rightly be a lack of labor for this work. By refusing to meet the requirements and accept the conditions of this work most workers give testimony better than oath that

they know it is too poorly paid. This is our best possible source of information. If there is a minority of different opinion, they may take the job. They do not have to submit to the majority in this. But where necessary to secure sufficient labor of a certain kind the pay for that kind of labor must be increased. Where an excessive number offer themselves for employment in a particular kind of public service the pay for that kind of labor must be reduced. Too great pay for a class of work induces an excessive seeking after this kind of employment. This likewise is our common testimony that the work is too well paid, and compels the reduction of the pay to a fair comparison with that for other employments. This is the action of natural law, and there is nothing unjust or unreasonable about it.

Men are not to be trusted to set an estimate upon their own work. And there are extreme differences in the kinds and quantities of work. The shop cannot be run as a debating society. Each one in an organization of people working together for the accomplishment of some purpose, as the building of a railroad or the making of shoes, must be responsible for the fulfillment of his part to some person having power to act promptly and effectively, if need be to replace a poor workman, and to secure the best results for the men employed. It may be set down at once as a present fact that someone must be responsible to see that men do the work they are paid for. Power to fulfill this responsibility is inseparable from it. This is not in conflict at all with the payment of the men for all of the work done by each. Democratic control of industry by and for the workers will not interfere with the command of large bodies of men by individuals who show themselves particularly successful in directing men for the getting of results desired. Such executive heads will necessarily be sustained in the exercise of sufficient power to meet their responsibilities while their ability is proven by results they obtain. At least this is the only basis upon which cooperation of large numbers of men has to the present time been successfully conducted. By the same rule which enables them to replace inefficient service with better ability they can themselves be replaced promptly by the will of that majority to whom they must be responsible.

Competition for insufficient opportunities of employment reduces the workers in all trades and professions to a wage barely sufficient to sustain a condition necessary to the work done; and the process by which this is accomplished is the action of the law of supply and demand. Therefore say some who seem to be authorized to speak for the Socialist Party, that Socialism must abolish competition and pay all workers equally for whatever kind of service. Notwithstanding, there is nothing in our platform or official documents that can be mistaken to assert or imply anything of this sort. Private monopoly of the means of employ-

ment by an idle class, the dependence of employment on possibilities of profit, and consequently the increasing fierceness of competition for more and more insufficient opportunities of employment reduces all labor to the wage of bare living. Therefore is our purpose declared: "that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users," and "that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered."

The opinion prevails that this control of organized industry by the working class organized must make necessary for its protection from private interests laws restricting and prohibiting private business enterprise. Now Socialism does not necessitate any law prohibiting the private ownership of anything, nor any law compelling every one to cooperate under government employ. When an efficient business organization of the workers divides the whole income among them so that every worker is secured the full result of his labor and an efficient application of it, no one will be found to sell himself to the benevolent capitalist for any less. Having to pay labor the full value of its product the capitalist would have none of his income left for dividends. Private ownership of the means of production in organized industries would be abolished for the reason that it would become unprofitable and burdensome to the owners. A public organization of industry that could be successfully attacked by the private enterprise of the capitalist would be most unfit to exist.

Our opponents, those who profit by and defend the existing business system, are very anxious to have it believed that we would abolish private property. Everyone understands that to be his private property which he has made himself, or obtained by gift, or obtained by giving a just valuation for it directly or indirectly to those who did make it. A confusion of the meaning of the term, private property, greatly helps concealment of the fact that the existing business system is the very abolition of private property in this correct and commonly accepted meaning of the term. "The capitalist mode of production and accumulation, and therefore capitalist private property, have for their fundamental condition the annihilation of self-earned private property, in other words the expropriation of the laborer." It is indeed remarkable that socialists should so often pass the assertion unchallenged that we attack private property. That of which the producer is deprived by force or fraud cease to be his property and so become the private property of its present possessor. The disposal of his product after its raw material is paid for seems reasonably to be the right of him who made it. Has he already disposed of it by terms of a contract with his fellow man? If this contract has been planned to deprive him of the largest possible part of his life product and imposed upon him by superior intelligence or superior

force; the contract is morally void. But assume that such contract is not morally void. Then superior force or superior intelligence is morally right to take the property back again. And take it back again the workers surely will when they possess intelligence. Those only who produce wealth have the first right to enjoy or dispose of it. There is no right of contract where there is not freedom of contract. To disagree with this is to disagree with the common understanding of the term private property. The protection of life and the protection of property, that is of goods made or fairly purchased is the good and sufficient reason avowed for the existence of every law. But, with the transformation of the tools we use, the existing laws are made to serve better to abolish private property and to confiscate the workers products for the payment of profit, interest and rent.

The ownership of the tools is assumed to give a right to a share of the workers' product, the largest possible share. And, don't forget that, when one man owns but does not use the tools which another man uses but does not own, he can have but one purpose, and that is to get an income from that other man's labor.

The capitalist receives first from the value created by the labor employed all costs of deterioration of his property and of sustaining his business. But his investment, his ownership of the tools, would be useless and profitless if he did not receive in addition an income beyond and above the return of all the value of the effort he has expended. That it sees and condemns this alone distinguishes the socialist organization and sets it apart from every other political organization whatsoever. This thing is identical with the taking of usury of old. The man who gets the tools or establishes a business feels it to be quite right to use this advantage to get from the community in general and from his employees in particular the benefit of as much more labor than that he has expended for them as his superior shrewdness or business advantage will enable him to take. He is considered right in doing so. A superior benefit to the community justifies a superior reward from the community, but it is only a barbaric community that will leave this reward to be so much as the man can take. If the mere buying of the tools is offered as the justification of interest because of the advantage to us of establishing an industry, let the investors answer for the infinitely greater advantages which can come to them only from the community, the knowledge of improved methods and means of wealth production and the facilities which make their business possible.

The distinction between financiering and stealing is frequently a distinction without a difference. Interest, usury, is the continually avowed purpose of all our business enterprises. The working rules of so called business morality are a conventionality agreed upon, not moral laws that come from the nature of things.

It is natural but unreasonable to go into ecstasies of indignation against the money barons. They are consistently carrying out the principles of practical business morality commonly preached and practiced.

For reasons of expediency and not from moral obligation we would pay their market value for the tools and lands owned by the great corporations. • That the workers could better afford to do so than to tolerate the present arrangement is too plain to be denied. The twelfth census of the United States sets the total capital of the manufacturing industries of the United States at \$9,846,000,000. The difference between the factory value of the annual product and the cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses was \$4,649,000,000 in 1900. The total payment of wages out of this was \$2,330,000,000, leaving \$2,318,000,000 to be paid under various names to the owners of the means of production. By the ownership of stocks watered up to a par valuation of nine billions the manufacturing capitalists draw an annual profit of more than two billions. If the workers drew only the same wages, the profits turned to the purchase of the means of production would pay for them, stocks, water and all, in four and a quarter years. But this is no more possible than it was to pay the chattel slave owners of the south for their slaves, and for the same reason: we cannot pay them the value of their special privileges to consume human life in labor unpaid for their profit. Suppose the purchase of the railroads of the United States at a price of about eight billion dollars. What do the capitalists want? Not their eight billion, but the interest on eight billion, in other words to manipulate it so as to draw the largest possible income from the labor of other people. At once they must reinvest this eight billion. Small business corporations would at once be reorganized into large ones; and their small properties, little factories, retail stores, etc., would be more rapidly confiscated under the usual forms of business and legal transaction. Capitalism would crystalize in its climax at once.

Simple and innocent and most practical in its beginnings was this arrangement by which some people now draw the incomes from the business in which other people do the work. At first, if it did not accomplish exact justice, at least it did very nearly. While no monopoly of natural resources or business opportunities could be set up, while the more energetic and saving easily avoided unfair conditions of employment because they could get lands and tools for themselves easily, industry was certainly controlled by the working class for the benefit of the working class. In the early times of these United States private ownership of all the tools of production was right. Fair wages and fair prices were more safely maintained by a business competition that was very nearly free. The ownership of his small tools by the man who uses them in a very simple ar-

rangement; but the collective ownership of the means of organized production is a complex problem indeed. It will not be attempted while the majority believe it possible to make the present arrangement tolerable.

Change of the tools of production into machines under private ownership has produced much more far reaching consequences than the cheapening of things. Industries of the home and the individual are largely transferred to the factory. Capitalist control of all occupations is greatly extended and strengthened. The building of more complex and therefore more expensive tools requires the command of more capital. These machines must be run in factories where larger and larger numbers of workers must become trained each to the process to which his labor is applied. To pay the wages of the armies of production the command of greater capital is necessary. For a greatly increased product a vastly greater quantity of raw material must be supplied, necessitating again the investment of more capital. Hence come concentration, combination and cooperative industry organized in the trust. The concentration of wealth, one-hundredth of the population owning more than one-half of the property, the abject helplessness of the individual worker excluded from the means of organized production, the dependence of life on the possibilities of profit for a few are accomplished facts.

The amount of capital invested, that is of labor expended in the making of machinery, buildings, and improvements for interest-bearing industries, has been vastly increased from \$533,000,000 in 1850 to \$9,846,000,000 in 1900 for manufactures alone of the United States. But for the very reason that they were made; namely, the saving of labor, these new means of production give employment to fewer hands than the old did, because consumption of goods has not increased proportionately with the tremendous increase in power of production. That is the capital invested in the machines employs fewer people in proportion than before. On an average the amount of capital invested which gave employment fifty years ago to three men is not enough to employ one man now. The investment of greater capital in machinery, and materials, etc., is necessary in order to consume a smaller quantity of human life in unpaid labor for the payment of profits on it. So comes inevitably the reduction in rates of interest and the irrepressible conflict of the struggle to maintain rates of interest by the more rapid consumption of the lives of those employed.

The labor or cost of making a modern machine is less than the labor or wages this machine will save. Therefore, every increase by the making of machines in the total capital invested causes a decrease in the proportion of labor it will employ. Though the total capital is increased, its relative power to employ labor is reduced. Invested in machines ten to four thousand times as productive, the relative employing power of capital falls

off so much more rapidly than its amount increases that the total labor it employs falls off not only in relative but in actual number. The unemployed compete fiercely for the jobs of those employed. This establishes the iron law of wages, the price of the power to labor being the wage of bare living, with a tendency downward. The number and the strength of those who profit by this present business system must ever grow smaller and smaller; the number and the strength of those whose lives depend upon possibilities of profits for these few must grow ever greater and greater and their condition ever more intolerable. The prices of the necessities of life are twenty or thirty per cent higher than six years ago, and the average wage is several per cent less than ten years ago according to the most reliable statements that can be collected from the capitalists themselves by their own agents. With its present wage labor can buy now only a smaller part of its own product than ever before. Such admissions must the capitalists make. But they try to confuse the facts by the repeated and emphatic statement that the average wage will now buy twice as much as it would in 1840. The reports of the United States Commission of Labor show that a day's work which gets a wage that will buy twice as much on an average produces with improved machinery now a product 7, 31, 535, to 4,008 times greater according to what the product is. The accumulation of products which the workers are too poor to buy causes chronic lack of employment and periodical stoppages of production. In the hard times of 1893 more than one-third of those usually employed in Massachusetts were unemployed.

But to show that the existing business system is the continuous confiscation of private property by discussing the nature of value and the source of profit, interest, and rent is laborious, uninteresting and usually unconvincing. It is impossible to convince the majority that machinery does not make profits and that values do not grow on trees. The basis of the capitalist system is that ownership of lands or machinery justifies the taking of a share of the product they are used to make greater in value than all costs of wear and tear due to this use. This is the same usury condemned by Christ and in the old testament of the Jews. Who shall tell us what is a fair profit? Who shall say what is a legitimate rate of interest? After the worker has produced the value paid him in wages, how much longer shall he be compelled to work to make profit for his masters? That some should consume the unwilling, unpaid labor of others without service on their part of equal value is plainly wrong and against reason. The control of industry and the ownership of lands and the tools are made the means of doing it. Eloquent speeches and ponderous laws conceal that this is done. But nature is not cheated. The moral and material effects are just the same. A social and industrial system like the present that takes from any citizen the just

and equitable reward of his labor, that confiscates the products of one man's toil in order to assume comfort to the idle and worthless contains the only essential principle of slavery.

We have only to leave capitalism to develop its own absurdity. It is absurd for example that eight or ten men should control as their private property the railroads of the United States, or the oil supply, or the anthracite coal. But it is quite the logical conclusion of business to accumulate profits without labor from industries in which to increase profits workers are employed at the lowest possible wage. All life is becoming dependent upon possibilities of profit for a few, the lowest possible wage. The whole organization of American industries, all the lands and natural resources for the same, and all the exquisitely complex machinery of production, which the ingenuity of more than three hundred years has designed and the labor of this generation or two has built, are becoming the private property of these few. Wait until this is accomplished. There will then be no doubts raised about "confiscation." It must then be a plain matter of restitution. Capitalism has reduced itself then logically to an absurdity.

WARREN ATKINSON.

New York, November, 1904.

Aid for Russia.

RUSSIA is in a state of overt revolution. The forces of progress and civilization in the vast empire are arrayed in fierce combat with the sordid powers of a despotic mediæval government and brutal capitalistic exploitation. The heroic battle for freedom is being fought almost exclusively by the Russian working class under the intellectual leadership of Russian Socialists, thus once more demonstrating the fact that the class conscious workingmen have become the vanguard of all liberating movements of modern times.

Whatever may be the immediate results of the present revolts in Russia, the socialist propaganda in that country has received from it an impetus unparalleled in the history of modern class wars.

The cowardly murder of thousands of peaceful workingmen and women has revealed to the world the brutality of the Russian governing classes in all its hideous nakedness, and has made the hitherto inert masses of the Russian population susceptible to the world-redeeming gospel of socialism. In the face of these unequaled opportunities the means and resources of our Russian comrades are entirely inadequate. Deprived of the right of maintaining a regular organization and establishing regular sources of income, the Russian Socialists are forced to fall back upon the support of their comrades in other countries in this crisis in their fatherland.

Comrades, if there ever was an occasion for a practical demonstration of the international solidarity of the socialist movement, this is the occasion. If it ever was our duty to assist our struggling brethren abroad, this is our duty now.

Proceeding from the above considerations, the undersigned have constituted themselves a committee to issue this call to the American Socialists for contributions to the Social Democratic Party of Russia to aid it in its grand battle.

Dr. S. Ingerman, of 121 East One Hundred and Twelfth street, New York City, will receive and receipt for all contributions and forward the same by cable to the proper destination.

Victor L. Berger.

John C. Chase.

Eugene V. Debs.

Benjamin Hanford.

Max S. Hayes.

Morris Hillquit.

Dr. S. Ingerman.

Alexander Jonas.

Jack London.

William Mailly.

A. M. Simons.

Henry L. Slobodin.

J. A. Wayland.

EDITORIAL

The Chicago Conference for Industrial Unions.

The manifesto and call for a convention to meet in Chicago next June to discuss questions relating to the economic organization of the working class and to the formation of a new organization along industrial lines, which appears elsewhere in this number, is without doubt one of the most significant facts in the labor movement of to-day. It is certain to raise both enthusiastic support and strong condemnation. Whatever is said here, is said entirely as the individual opinion of the editor, and is to be taken in no way as expressing the opinion of the executive committee of the proposed organization, of which he is a member, and still less of the Socialist party, to which he owes still closer allegiance.

The only question about the desirability of forming such an organization is the question of timeliness. Practically every student of the trade union movement who has any comprehension of the broader phases of laboring class evolution has realized for some time that such a movement was certain to play a part in American trade union evolution. It has for some time been evident that the American Federation of Labor was not adjusted to the economic conditions of today, and that it must give way to some organization more fit to meet and solve present industrial problems. Moreover, the general lines of the coming change have also been visible for some time. The one question then is, is the present the proper time for such a change to come? If it is not, then this organization will be a thing born out of due time, a cause of disorder, confusion and injury.

Let us then glance at the main features of present industrial life as effecting the offensive and defensive organization of the working class on the economic field. The first and most striking feature is undoubtedly the tremendous concentration in the forces of capitalism that has taken place during the last few years. Trade lines have been almost completely merged in the class struggle. Individual crafts find not only that their craft skill is no longer of avail, but that if they are to engage in collective bargaining with their masters in any effective way they must secure the co-operation of a great number of laborers working in other trades, and bargaining with the same master.

An isolated trade union to day is as out of date as was the individualistic worker twenty years ago. Indeed, there are often more *trades* working for a single master today than there were *men* a generation ago. The

trade unionist considers the individual laborer who seeks to make an agreement with his master apart from his fellow workers as a traitor to his class. What then shall we say of a *trade* that today seeks to make an individual trade bargain with its master independent of the other trades selling their labor power to the same capitalist? Is not that trade deserving of that worst of all epithets of the trade union world, SCAB? Yet this is what we see around us all the time. We see whole trades scabbing on the other trades of the same industry, and this in the name of trade unionism.

Another striking phase of the present industrial situation is the growing keenness of class consciousness on the part of the capitalist class. This has expressed itself in two ways. The first, that of Parry and his followers, consists of an open declaration of class war all along the line. The other, that of the Civic Federation, seeks to take advantage of the trade scabs within the trade union world, and to use them to play against their fellow workers. The latter is a method of battle whose whole strength depends upon the unintelligent action of the working class.

Out of these two features, as inevitably as any idea ever springs from industrial conditions, has sprung the idea which has found form and expression in the call for a convention in Chicago next June. This idea is no means confined to those who are outside the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Indeed, the thing which most convinced us of the necessity of such an organization was the tremendous discontent within the trade unions still affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It seemed from the experience of the last year, during which we have addressed probably seventy-five or a hundred thousand trade unionists in different parts of the United States, that unless some means was formed to give this idea definite expression that the whole union movement was itself doomed, and we have frequently expressed this idea in speeches and writings. The men who have sought to confine a trade union movement, growing out of monopolized industry and organized employers, within the bounds of craft autonomy, are the ones who are wrecking the union movement of America. They are trying, as men have tried through all the ages, to put the new wine in the old bottles, and the rumbling of disrupting forces is but the effort to find new and more suitable forms. When the men who constitute the central ring of the American Federation of Labor lent themselves to the employers through the Civic Federation to bind and deliver the working class into the hands of its enemies they took a step which meant but one of two things. Either a momentary disruption of trade unions (for there can be no permanent disruption while the class struggle remains a fact and not a theory), or else the reorganization of trade union forces in accord with their real class interests and in correspondence with the industrial conditions amid which every battle must be waged.

Right here it is worth while to stop and call attention to the fact that the trade union movement of America is in no way to be identified with the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor in its last analysis is little more than a clique of labor politicians whose main

service is on the parade ground, and who are seldom or never seen on the field of battle. The real trade union in America, even in the pure and simple form, is to be found in the constituent organizations. The American Federation of Labor declares no strikes, pays no benefits, makes no agreements, and does little effective organization. To be sure, a corps of highly paid organizers are employed, but it has long been recognized that these men are but the political lieutenants of the official clique, and that their main business is not to organize working men into trade unionists, but to organize trade unionists into rings and factions for the purpose of maintaining the rule of the leaders. The American Federation of Labor may come and go—it might be wiped off the map tomorrow with but little result on the actual working class movement of America.

We recognize thoroughly the value of the work done by those who, in accordance with the "boring from within" policy have been preaching the truths of proper organization and proper political action inside the trade unions. Neither shall we in any way relax our efforts to further such a campaign of education. But these men have "builded better than they knew." Within practically every trade union of any importance there are today thousands of men who have come to the turning of the ways. They have become convinced of the necessity of industrial organization, of the criminality of affiliation with capitalist parties and co-operation with treasonable Civic Federations. These men are already dropping from the unions because they do not see their way to further their interests within the unions. We would be the first to condemn such action on their part. The place for a man is within the union of his craft, fighting while that union stands and no treasonable action on the part of trade union officers should lead him to leave that union, unless it be to step into a better and higher form of organization. But we are confronted with a condition, not a theory, and unless some positive stand is taken the negative attacks upon old trade union policies will simply result in the disintegration of the trade union movement.

For these reasons we believe that the time is here to urge the various trade unions now organized, and the countless thousands more who are outside any labor organization, to unite in a form of organization suited to the industrial conditions that confront us. Many of the unions already contain a majority of men who recognize these facts. It is for these men, "boring from within," to see to it that their union is represented at the convention next June. If every man within the present trade unions who realizes these facts would set himself energetically to work at "boring from within" to this end the transition could be made with scarcely a jar in the trade union world. The fakirs and misleaders who have never at any time played any part in the real labor movement save that of disrupters and traitors would be quietly left on one side.

The trade union that connects itself with the new organization need not in any way alter internal organization and management. It need only change its admission fee to agree with the general one which may be adopted at the convention, agree to pay a stipulated sum monthly to the treasury, to exchange membership cards with other unions, to make no agreements

effecting men in other trades without the consent of those trades if organized, and will in return receive similar support from all affiliated organizations. In every way the union will receive much more than it will be asked to give. It will retain trade autonomy in matters that concern each trade as completely as at the present time, but when it enters into the field of other trades instead of being met by trade competition and craft antagonism, it will be met by the co-operation of affiliated unions.

There is no question of affiliation with, or indorsement of, any political party. The union is an economic movement and not a political one. It is the recognition of the class struggle on the economic field, and as such must be judged. If the workers of America believe that such an organization will be more efficient in fighting their battles for better conditions than the present ones, then it is for them to take hold of the plan and bring it to a realization.

In response to our suggestion last month for co-operative study we have received a letter from a socialist who was formerly a professor of statistics in one of the largest and best universities in this country, and is at present engaged in statistical work for the national government, in which he expresses his willingness to engage in such co-operative work. His proposal is to use the United States census of 1900, which may be secured by application to a member of congress, as the basis of the study. The work will consist principally in the analysis of this census to show the various economic classes in the United States. Incidentally this will give the persons so co-operating a course in theory and practice of statistical work equal to that offered by the foremost universities. For obvious reasons the writer of the letter does not wish his name published, but any one desiring to take up this work who will address the editor of this Review will be placed in communication with him. It is hoped that out of this will grow a correspondence course in statistical work.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

At a secret conference held in Chicago early last month by representatives of organizations unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as a number of sympathizers connected with the American Federation of Labor, the question of launching a new federation upon the broadest possible industrial lines, as distinguished from the present autonomy policy of the American Federation of Labor, was thoroughly considered. After carefully weighing the subject in every detail, it was voted to issue a manifesto to labor organizations of every description and invite them to send delegates to a national convention to be held in Chicago, June 27, "for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto." Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegates represent.

That the manifesto strikes a keynote must be admitted by all who have studied the labor movement of this country during recent years. It is correctly pointed out that narrow craft lines divide the workers, foster ignorance and jealousy and strengthen the position of organized employers in struggles between capitalists and laborers. The address continues:

"Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action. Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles, which serve only the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

"A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union, embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working class unity generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

"It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

"All power should rest in the collective membership.

"Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

"Workingmen bringing union cards from foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

"All members should hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

"The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire organization and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry, at regular intervals.

"A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained."

Among the signers of the call are the names of Charles O. Sherman, general secretary of the United Metal Workers; William D. Haywood, Charles H. Moyer and John O'Neill, of the Western Federation of Miners; William E. Trautman, of the United Brewery Workers; George Estes and W. Hall, of the Brotherhood of Railway Employees; Daniel McDonald, Clarence Smith and Thomas J. Hagerty, of the American Labor Union; Wade Shurtleff, of the Railway Clerks; W. J. Pinkerton, of the Switchmen's Union of North America; Joseph Schmitt and John Guild, of the Journeymen Bakers' International Union; Mother Jones, and about a dozen others. The metal workers, bakers and brewers are at present affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The other organizations mentioned are identified with the American Labor Union or are independent.

Just what effect this manifesto will have upon certain of the organizations that are identified with the American Federation of Labor, and which favor industrialism and are constantly attacked by "craft autonomists," cannot be predicted as yet. Nor can it be known for some time what course the independent, or unattached, national and local unions will pursue, although it is a safe guess that some will join the new federation—in fact, the movement toward the new body may become general.

Notwithstanding the plain declaration in the call that the proposed industrial federation "should be established as the economic organization of the working class, WITHOUT AFFILIATION WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY," certain capitalist dailies, for reasons best known to themselves, have printed under glaring headlines and in thundering editorials the charges that "it is a socialistic move to disrupt the American Federation of Labor," and that "a political trades union federation will be launched."

Later on some of the trade union papers, generally designated as pure and simple, probably taking their cue from the capitalistic dailies, eagerly seized the opportunity to pepper the Socialist party and insinuate that it stood behind the new federation movement. It is somewhat singular that those organs hypocritically pretend that they are not in politics, and still are never happier than when attacking Socialists or booming some "workingman's friend" for office at so much per boom. A Republican or Democrat is always given a good character by the capitalistic lick-spittle press by certain labor editors with plutocratic minds, but a Socialist never! The suddenness with which some of the capitalistic newspapers rush to the defense of the American Federation of Labor, after having attacked that body in every great strike, and which organs are now clamorously contending for the open shop, is not without its significance. For obvious reasons Greeks that bear gifts are a suspicious lot.

As a matter of record and fairness it should be stated that, first, not a single signer to the above call is officially identified with the Socialist party; secondly, that not one of the signers has been seen or heard or known on the floor of the American Federation of Labor conventions as an advocate of socialism in recent years, and thirdly, it is doubtful whether any American Federation of Labor delegate, with possibly an exception or two, had the slightest knowledge that the Chicago conference was to be held.

This is a free country, at least in this respect, that men have the right to organize as they choose. The question to be considered is which is the wisest course to pursue—to attempt to reconstruct the American Federation of Labor and introduce much-needed reforms in harmony with progress and the spirit of the times, or secede and build up anew upon industrial lines. The great trouble is that some of the organizations that favor industrialism and oppose craft autonomy are not in the American Federation of Labor, and it is also a fact that some delegates to the conventions

from industrial unions who never tire of denouncing autonomy are generally found lined up with the administration. Under such circumstances Gompers and his policy is bound to triumph, and it is small wonder that the president of the American Federation of Labor believes he can do pretty much as he pleases, and his acts will be endorsed. One thing that is certain is that the proposed formation of a new federation will force the issue of industrialism versus craft autonomy to the front as it never was before. And if the Socialists are to be given credit or blame for it—well, they have been given so many “knecks” from all sides that they are becoming accustomed to the game and will probably be able to stand it.

The most important occurrence in the labor world during the past month was the unconditional surrender of the textile workers, after 25,000 of them struggled and starved at Fall River, Mass., for six months to resist a reduction of wages amounting to 12½ per cent. The “working-man’s friend,” Governor Douglas, is credited with engineering the deal that resulted in final disaster. Capital has “its rights,” and if Douglas can figure out how the mill barons can secure 5 per cent profits on the manufactured products (including dividends on watered stock, of course) the bosses may concede something. It is not likely, though, that rents and prices of food products, upon which the thrifty mill barons also realize handsome profits, will be considered in this figure juggling. The textile workers made a magnificent fight, and it is to be regretted that they lost. The financial backing they received would hardly keep a flock of birds alive six months. Why didn’t they pay higher dues and accumulate a treasury? For the most part they never received enough wages to supply their bare necessities of life while working, and, therefore, high dues were out of the question. The textile workers of this country are no better off than were the slaves before the war, if as well. Their condition is deplorable, and is one of the serious problems that confronts the trade union movement.

The workers on and along the Great Lakes are in a quandary. Open shop talk has been rife among the vessel owners ever since a year ago, when the organization of the captains and mates was destroyed. The latter are now compelled to sign iron-clad agreements that they will join no union, and there is talk that when navigation opens the seamen, and, perhaps, the longshoremen, will be compelled to accept open shop conditions. The United States Steel Corporation fleet is taking the lead in the union disrupting campaign. Its managers have been rather non-committal on this question, probably because they are studying the situation or are preparing for war. If a struggle comes it will be the greatest since the Hannas and their man Rumsey smashed the seamen before.

Rumors are coming from Colorado and Utah that the coal miners are discussing the proposition of seceding from the United Mine Workers. There were some sensational scenes in the Indianapolis convention last month. President Mitchell denounced the anthracite miners for dropping out of the union, and was in turn “roasted” by some of the westerners. Uneasy lies the head of a labor leader.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Germany.

The great strike in the coal mines of the valley of the Ruhr is occupying all the attention in Germany. The socialists have been carrying on great demonstrations throughout Germany, and in the Reichstag the socialist members have been forcing the government to take action. The dispatches to the daily press state that the strike has been settled but give no details as to the terms. We give herewith the demands of the men as published in *Vorwaerts*. These incidentally give a very good picture of conditions in that industry.

"1. Eight hour shifts, including riding down and out, hours this year as usual, but not to exceed nine hours, beginning with 1906, eight hours and a half, and 1907, eight hours.

"Six hour shifts including ride in and out in wet mines, and in mines with a temperature above 28 degrees C.

"2. Sunday shifts and extra shifts to be permitted only for the purpose of saving human lives, in case of extraordinary breakdowns, and for repairs to the shafts. For shaft repairs on Sunday a 50 per cent increase of wages to be paid.

"3. Coal in trucks to be paid without deducting for anything but stones, or payment of coal by weight. All wagons to be officially measured and their capacity to be marked in a visible place.

"4. The crew of each shift to elect every year a truck inspector by secret ballot, this inspector to be paid by the mine owners and his wages to be deducted from the wages of all miners working for the company. This inspector to have all the rights of the other members of the crew and to be insured in all respects the same as they.

"5. Wages (ammunition and light not to be charged to the account of the miners:)

"Minimum wages for miners and assistants 5.00 mk, for others from 4.50 mk. to 3.00 mk. per day. Pay day three times per month, one payment to be made at the end of each month, one on the tenth and one on the twentieth of each month.

"6. Formation of a committee for the purpose of presenting and regulating all grievances and complaints; of settling differences about wages; of taking part in the administration of the benefit funds, an account of which must be published for all members of the mining crew once a year; if the companies do not pay any contribution to the benefit funds, they are not entitled to take part in their administration; the companies not to have more than one-half of the seats in this committee, even if they pay more contributions to the benefit funds than the miners.

"7. Installation of mine inspectors, to be elected once in two years by the mining crew from their own ranks by secret ballot and to be paid by the company. Candidates for mine inspectorship to have served at least one year in the crew and to be at least 30 years old.

"8. Reform of the mining organization after the model of the labor unions.

"9. Good coal to be sold to married miners at cost of production, also to widows and unmarried miners who have parents or brothers and sisters dependent on them. (At least one truck per month).

"10. Abolition of the numerous and hard punishments.

"11. One month notice to be entered in the leases of the mining crews.

"12. Humane treatment; punishment and eventually dismissal of all overseers, etc., who maltreat or abuse miners.

"13. No reprisals, dismissals or cutting of wages for those who have taken part in the strike.

"14. Recognition of labor organizations."

France.

The unity of the French socialist parties has been at last completed and it is announced that within a short time a national convention will be called to ratify the action of the various committees and perfect the general organization. The articles of agreement arranged by the joint committee are as follows:

1. The socialist party is a party of the class struggle whose final aim is the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist or communist society. By its aim and its ideals, as well as by the means through which it seeks to realize immediate reforms, this party is a party of the class struggle and of revolution and not a reform party.

2. The parliamentary representatives shall constitute a single group in opposition to all bourgeois fractions. This group shall therefore refuse all support to a government of capitalist powers, including credit for the army, for colonial purposes, for the secret fund, and a general vote for the budget as a whole. Even in extraordinary cases the deputies of the party cannot ally themselves with the government without unanimous consent in each special case? The parliamentary group shall defend and extend the political rights of the laborers exclusively, and work for those reforms which improve the conditions of existence and the possibility of a class struggle.

3. The single representative is to be individually under the control of his own federation but the parliamentary group is to be subject to the central party administration.

4. The party press is to be absolutely free for discussion of all questions of doctrine and tactics, but so far as political activity is concerned they must follow the decision of the central party administration. Those periodicals belonging exclusively to the party shall be directly under the control of this central administration: a private periodical can, if necessary, be excluded from the party.

5. The parliamentary representatives cannot be represented in the central organization of the party as individuals. They must be represented therein as a delegation which shall constitute only one-tenth of the members of the central administration.

6. The party shall see to it that the deputies respect the imperative mandate.

7. At the unity convention which is to be called, the different groups shall be represented according to the number of votes cast at the election of deputies in 1902.

Japan.

From the *Socialist* we learn that the persecution of the Japanese comrades is still going on. We learn that "during the last month all the socialist meetings were either stopped or depressed by the police, but it

seems that the socialists were not the least bit afraid of it and there were more socialist meetings during the month than usual."

The number which brings us this, however, finds itself compelled to change its title, and is henceforth to be known as the *Abroad* instead of the *Socialist*.

International Socialist Bureau.

A meeting of the International Socialist Bureau was held during the holiday period. The main question which occupied the time of the bureau was that of determining the method of representation at the international congress. After a long discussion, however, no definite conclusions were reached, but a committee consisting of VanKol, Vandervelde and Serwy was appointed, who were to receive all suggestions that might be sent in and report at the end of six months. Two resolutions were passed. The first proposed by Vaillant declared that while we were in favor of peace, we strongly denounced any breach of neutrality and wished every success to the noble army of Russian revolutionaries.

Second, proposed by Longuet denounces the Japanese government for its persecution of socialism in Japan and the suppression of the organ of our party.

BOOK REVIEWS

REBELS OF THE NEW SOUTH. *By Walter Marion Raymond. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.00.*

Young America is thinking. And it is thinking more independently than it ever thought before. The time of the utopian socialist novel of the Howells and Bellamy type has gone with the indistinct unrest which agitated the radical element of the bourgeoisie in the eighties, and with the progress of proletarian organization along class lines there has come a pronounced tendency to express the thoughts of the proletariat in novels of a more clearly socialist character. The present work of Mr. Raymond is one of these new attempts at orientation, and dealing with an environment in which the class struggle has not yet assumed the vitality which makes it so offensive to the capitalist world of the northern states, it gives a true picture of the mental processes by which the southern socialist is traveling toward class-consciousness. It has stripped off its utopian character sufficiently to affiliate itself with the political party of the American proletariat, but still seeks its heroes among classes which are not typically proletarian and who have therefore more of a humanitarian than a class interest in the new development. This standpoint enables the characters of the story who are the representatives of the new rebellion in the South to expose the rottenness and hypocrisy of bourgeois society and to detach themselves from the ideas of the old environment, but surrounds them with much of the sentimentalism and altruistic fervor which the typical proletarian cannot feel on account of the pitiless oppression that weighs him down. We find, therefore, that the leading characters of this story are revolutionaries, not because their class interests compel them to struggle against the capitalist counterrevolution, but because they realize that they cannot live a brotherly and full life under the capitalist system. The hero of this novel is not the proletarian thinker who has learned the bitter lesson of the modern wage slave's life, but a carefully raised and trained specimen of humanity as it might be universal under the advanced conditions of the co-operative commonwealth. In reading this novel, then, we are not following the development of the victorious rebel against the capitalist environment, but the life history of one who may serve as an ideal for the coming man. This ideal is, indeed, inspiring, and one cannot help wishing that there might be more such young men as Custis in the "New South." But the novel will hardly appeal to those who are compelled to live the hopeless existence of the typical proletarian, and who are looking for an expression of their own feelings and actions rather than those of men who come to them as saviors from an entirely different social atmosphere.

However, the author has succeeded in painting his character true to life, and they are so lovable and congenial that one feels at home with them and takes an interest in them which lasts throughout the story. The local color of the South is admirably preserved and lends a charm to every chapter. Every one who is in a position to appreciate a work of art will delight in reading Mr. Raymond's novel and will thank the author for a few hours of agreeable and inspiring reading. (E. U.)

THE SEA WOLF, by Jack London. The Macmillan Co. Cloth. 366 pp. \$1.50.

The one great characteristic of this book is strength. It is strong in every line. It grips with a vise-like hold from which the reader cannot escape. The plot is rather simple. A Mr. Humphrey van Weyden, a petted child of luxury—over-refined—is shipwrecked in San Francisco harbor and picked up by a whaling schooner captained by an incarnation of muscle and brutality called Wolf Larsen. This man, with the strength of a Hercules, the brain of a philosopher, and the instincts of a fiend, is the central figure of a story of adventure and horrors. There are touches of some of the author's previous ideas running all through the book. There is the same admiration for the primitive that we find in the "Call of the Wild" and "A Daughter of the Snows." Indeed, there is much about Wolf Larsen to remind us of "Buck," save that the man has in him that fiend-like something which seems never to be present in animals of a lower evolutionary stage. But there is something else in the story for a Socialist, unless we are mistaken. It may be that we have read something into the work that is not there, but it seems to us that Wolf Larsen is made the incarnation of our present competitive system. With gigantic constructive or destructive power, bestial materialism, utilizing all the scientific and literary knowledge of modern society, but only for the purpose of individual personal gain, he stands as the apotheosis of the individualistic capitalism of today.

MANASSAS, A NOVEL OF THE WAR, by Upton Sinclair. The Macmillan Co. Cloth. 412 pp. \$1.50.

This is not an historical novel in the ordinary sense of the words. It is rather a sort of idealized history. It seems probably that it is a suggestion of what fiction will be in the days to come, when men and women have grown too old intellectually to be longer amused by literary puppet shows, and historians dare to tell the truth. The plot, as novelists commonly use the word, is slight. The real plot is the great Civil War. The son of a southern slave holder goes to Boston to college. The new environment makes him an abolitionist. He goes back home and his struggle with the horrors of slavery finally end in his taking up arms for the North when the war breaks out. The artist's canvass is a tremendous one and the figures are of heroic size. The whole plan and execution are epic in their scope. We are glad to learn that this is but the first of three volumes. Taken together, it should form a tremendous epic history of the most crucial period that has yet appeared in American history. Strange as it may seem to those who know Comrade Sinclair, the strongest criticism we would make of the book is that it is not historically accurate at just the point where accuracy would be expected of a socialist. According to *Manassas* the Civil War was fought to abolish slavery and the abolitionists were the real driving force. But the little group of abolitionist idealists in New England played but a small part in the Titanic struggle between Northern owners of white wage slaves and Southern masters of negro chattels. During that battle the form of servitude for the negro was changed, not because of the love of human liberty, but because such a change was a necessary move in the military strategy of the war.

L'ORGANIZATION SOCIALISTE AND OUVRIERE EN EUROPE, AMERIQUE ET ASIE, by the International Socialist Secretary. Paper, 524 pp. fr. 3.50.

This is just the sort of a handbook that has long been wanted in the International Socialist movement. It contains a statement of the strength, history, method of organization and general condition of all the Socialist parties in every country. As a general thing these are the reports furnished to the International Congress, and as a whole are very satisfactory. That of the United States is perhaps as imperfect as any. The complete summary of the Socialist vote of the world, by countries, and by years, which was originally published in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW,

then copied, without credit, by the national organization, is here again copied, without credit, and has since been repeatedly recopied, almost always, uncredited, by several socialist papers. Not one of all these who have thus appropriated the work of others have taken the trouble to even add up the figures which they took, and assumed credit for, or they would have discovered a couple of slight errors, which we do not so much regret, since they have served to show the carelessness and the—well the extreme elasticity of literary conscience, possessed throughout the socialist world. The work, however, is something of greatest value, and arrangements should be made for its translation into English—with perhaps some extensions and corrections of the portion applying to the United States.

THE OPEN SHOP, by Clarence S. Darrow. Hammersmark Publishing Co. Cloth. 32 pages. 10 cents.

The subject matter of this pamphlet is certainly a live one in the trade union world today, and it is difficult to imagine a much stronger indictment of the open shop policy than the one which the author has prepared. In logic, literary style, and general form of presentation the booklet fills an excellent place in trade union literature.

WOMAN'S SOURCE OF POWER, by Lois Waisbrooker. *The Alliance*, Denver, Colo. Paper. 48 pages. 25 cents.

This is one of a kind of books which we have all too many. The author is absolutely ignorant, at least so far as is shown by this booklet, of the investigations which have been made into the evolution of sex relations, she knows nothing of modern psychology or of scientific socialism, yet writes a book which deals with all these subjects.

THE BIBLE AND SOCIALISM, by Rev. Geo. W. Woodbey, "the negro socialist orator." Published by the author, Los Angeles, Cal. Paper. 96 pages. 20 cents.

An argument to show that the Bible teaches socialism. It is probable that the theologians would complain of the interpretation placed upon biblical passages as much as socialists have reason to complain of the implied definitions of socialism. The work, however, makes no pretensions to scientific accuracy, but is written purely for propaganda purposes. As such it may serve a useful purpose, while introducing those, whom religious prejudices would otherwise hinder, to a reading of standard socialist works.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

"The Recording Angel."

Printers and proof-readers are now at work on Edwin Arnold Brenholtz' great socialist novel, "The Recording Angel," and we expect to have copies ready for delivery on March 15.

Meanwhile we have decided to make a special limited offer, which will be open to every reader of the International Socialist Review. For one dollar received before March 15 we will send the Review one year, either to a new subscriber or one renewing, and will also mail a copy of the book upon publication.

We have a double reason for making this offer. The author has presented this manuscript as a free gift to our co-operative publishing house. But to bring out the book requires a cash outlay of five hundred dollars. People ordinarily put off buying a book until it has been out long enough to get the opinion of others who have read it. We want to avoid borrowing money by making a sufficient inducement for at least five hundred people to send the money in advance.

The other reason is that the book is one that will sell itself in every socialist local when once it is introduced, and the best advertisement we can give it is to have one or two comrades in each local read it for themselves.

"The Recording Angel" presents a striking contrast with Comrade Raymond's "Rebels of the New South," of which a discriminating review by Comrade Untermann appears on another page. Raymond's hero is a socialist through sympathy for the suffering of others, and the scene of the story is laid in the peaceful South, just awakening to the existence of modern capitalism. Brenholtz' hero is a workingman, striking for his own rights as well as those of his fellows, and the atmosphere of the story is tense with the class struggle. The scene is laid in a great industrial city, and the actors are proletarians on the one side and trust magnates on the other.

The title might suggest the mystical, and so it is worth while to explain that the "recording angel" from which the book takes its name is an automatic graphophone which takes down the secret conversation of two "captains of industry" when, believing themselves safe from any ear, they are arranging the necessary details for the "removal" of an obnoxious labor leader.

Remember that "Rebels of the New South" sells for one dollar, subject only to the usual discount to stockholders. "The Recording Angel" will sell at the same price after publication, and to take advantage of the offer made above it will be necessary to order soon.

Socialism and Modern Science.

This work by Enrico Ferri proves that the principles of international socialism are not opposed to the truths of evolution, as claimed by Spencer, but on the contrary are, to use the author's words, "only the practical and fruitful fulfilment, in the social life, of that modern scientific revolution which—inaugurated some centuries since by the rebirth of the experimental method in all branches of human knowledge—has triumphed in our times, thanks to the works of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer."

A second edition of this work has lately been issued. We do not publish it, but we have just purchased a hundred copies on such terms that we can supply it to our stockholders at 85 cents by mail or 75 cents by express, the price to others being one dollar.

Rhymes for the Times.

We have had many requests for books of selections suitable for recitation at socialist meetings, and until now we have been obliged to reply that we knew of nothing we could recommend. Comrade Henry M. Edmiston of New York City, a stockholder in our co-operative publishing house, has lately published a book entitled "Rhymes for the Times," containing a large number of verses admirably adapted to this purpose. A few of the titles are "Awake from Slumber," "Barriers Swept Away," "Dream of the Socialist," "Expansion," "How We are Bunched," "Just Common Folks," "Labor's Reward," "Our Share," "Slaves to Mammon," "The Banker's Dream," and "The Writing on the Wall."

The book is well bound in cloth with gold stamping, and sells for a dollar a copy. The author has contributed fifty copies to help along the work of the publishing house, and we therefore offer them to stockholders at the same rate as our own publications, that is, sixty cents postpaid or fifty cents if sent at expense of purchaser.

Another and smaller book of verses, also adapted for recitations, is called "Workaday Poems, by a Worker." The price is ten cents, postage included, but it is not subject to discount.

Socialism and Human Nature.

The leading article by Murray E. King in the Review for December attracted wide-spread attention for the admirable way in which it covers a point heretofore somewhat neglected in our propaganda, and that issue of the Review was exhausted almost as soon as it was off the press. The article is now reprinted in a handsome pamphlet at ten cents with the usual discount to stockholders.

The Company's Finances.

A complete statement of the receipts and expenditures of our co-operative publishing house for the year 1904, together with the assets and liabilities on December 31st, was sent to each stockholder. We cannot take the space in this department for publishing it in full. It may be of interest however to state that the book sales during 1904, amounted to \$9,947.65, the money received for the International Socialist Review, to \$2,445.31; the sales of stock to \$2,479.82, and the contributions toward clearing off the debt to \$1,610.76, besides a like sum contributed by Charles H. Kerr of the amount due him from the company.

There was an error in carrying forward the receipts "previously acknowledged" in one month's issue of the Review, so that the total for the year in last month's issue was erroneously given as \$2,959.52, instead of the correct amount of \$3,221.52.

As announced in last month's issue Charles H. Kerr has extended until March 31st his offer to duplicate the contributions of all other stockholders. The contributions received under this offer since the first of January are as follows:

Morgan Solvsberg, Iowa	\$ 1.00
Soren Madsen, North Dakota50
Frank Carrier, Nebraska	1.00
A. A. Heller, New York	15.00
H. B. Weaver, California	1.00
Edward Upton, British Columbia	3.00
Frank Page, Idaho	1.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois	22.50
Total	\$45.00

It will readily be seen that if the debt to outsiders, now reduced to eight hundred dollars, is to be cleared off, the contributions during February and March must come in at a much more rapid rate. It is perhaps fortunate for the future democratic control of the company that no one individual has seen fit to put in any large sum of money, but if we rejoice over this we must accept the consequent obligation upon each one who realizes the importance of the work this publishing house has to do.

Standard Socialist Series

Classics of Socialism in Permanent Library Form.

1. Karl Marx: Personal Memoirs by William Liebknecht. Translated by Ernest Untermann.

This book is thoroughly charming in the simplicity of the true story it tells of the private life of Marx in his home and among his friends during the years of poverty and exile when his greatest works were written. It is full of side lights on the origin and growth of the Socialist movement.

2. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, by Emile Vandervelde. Translated by Charles H. Kerr.

On the whole the best book yet published for putting into the hands of an inquirer who wishes to get in one small volume a systematic explanation of the whole Socialist philosophy and program. The author starts out with a survey of modern industrial conditions. He then shows the economic necessity of Socialism, and discusses the possible means by which the working class through its elected officers may acquire the means of production.

3. The American Farmer. By A. M. Simons.

The pioneer book on a subject of immense importance to the Socialist movement of America. It is needed by city wage-workers to show them that the vast majority of the American farmers are closely bound to the proletariat by their material interests. It is needed by the farmers to show the absurdity of the dread that Socialists upon coming into power might want to confiscate the small farms.

4. The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association. By Isaac Broome.

This narrative is an excellent illustration of what modern Socialism is not. It is a graphic account of the last conspicuous attempt to start an earthly paradise on a small scale, with the usual result.

5. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermann.

The progress of the modern working class toward emancipation from class rule is greatly hampered by the current ideas concerning the stability of the present social and political institutions. This book shows how closely a people's methods of race propagation and political organizations are connected with the way in which they produce the material requirements of life. Whenever there occur essential changes in the modes of production, corresponding changes are perceived in the form of

sexual relationship and in the political organization.

This is a standard work of the highest value to any one desiring to understand and apply the Socialist philosophy. Our translation is the first that has ever been made for English readers.

6. The Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons.

The first part of this book, "Reform or Revolution," draws a distinction which needs to be kept clearly in mind by every Socialist who has to explain the difference between our party and any of the other parties which take up certain portions of our program. The second part, "The Day After the Revolution," is one of the ablest answers yet given to the difficult question of what the proletariat could do with the resources at its disposal after first getting control of the public powers.

7. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling, D. Sc.

This work ranks with the Communist Manifesto as one of the original statements of the central Socialist principle of Historical Materialism. Those who imagine that Socialism is nothing but a vague yearning for a time when selfishness will disappear, or who suppose that Socialists have a ready-made scheme for making society over, should study this work of Engels.

8. Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy. By Frederick Engels. Translated, with Critical Introduction, by Austin Lewis.

This work of Engels is an indispensable contribution to the development of the theory of Historical Materialism, and it also deals with the relation of the Socialist philosophy to religion.

9. American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty. By Isador Ladoff.

This book is a thoroughly satisfactory answer to the widespread demand for an analysis of the last United States Census in the light of the Socialist philosophy. It is full of just the facts that the Socialist agitator needs.

10. Britain for the British (America for the Americans). By Robert Blatchford.

This is one of the most valuable propaganda books in the literature of Socialism. It has the charming style of the author's earlier book, "Merrie England," but it has the further merit of showing the reader that no substantial relief for the working class can ever be reached through the old parties controlled by the capitalist class.

These ten books are handsomely bound in cloth, uniform in style, and are sold at \$5.00 a set or 50 cents each, postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS

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